HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Job Corps Mourners Ignore Facts

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

The anvil chorus of wrathful complaints and protests against the proposed closing of 59 Job Corps centers has the hollow ring of partisan politics.

The record of these training camps is anything but glittering. Certainly it does not call for anguished shedding of crocodile tears and headline-making breast-beating. The plain fact is the Job Corps has long been one of the most controversial and censured of the anti-poverty programs.

In the four years of its existence, it has been under repeated fire in and out of Congress on numerous charges—excessive costs, waste, gross mismanagement, bungling, scandals of various kinds and very meager results for the more than $1 billion expended so far.

Some centers had to be closed because of the outraged grievances of the communities in which they were located.

Latest instance of official condemnation was a voluminous report by the General Accounting Office, watchdog agency of Congress, flatly recommending drastic curtailment of the Job Corps program.

The GAO's unpublicized findings are graphically summed up in the following pronouncement:

"In light of the costly training provided by the Job Corps, we doubt that the resources now being applied to this program can be fully justified. . . . We recommend that Congress consider whether the Job Corps program is sufficiently achieving the purpose for which it was created to justify its retention at present levels."

This bluntly critical evaluation played a leading role in the decision of President Nixon and his Cabinet lieutenants to slash the Job Corps program approximately in half—lopping 59 from the 113 centers.

The GAO report was the result of a 15-month study expressly ordered by Congress. It cost $1.1 million and covered all the so-called anti-poverty programs. Copies of the huge report, titled "Review of Economic Opportunity Programs," were sent to every member of Congress.

From the nature and tenor of the partisan outcries against the Administration's shutdown plan, it is evident the protesting legislators either haven't read the GAO report or are blandly ignoring it.

The survey warrants far more consideration.

The GAO's conclusions are restrained and deliberate, and based on exhaustive first-hand inquiries by an army of trained investigators and researchers. Their detailed accounts of the management and operation of centers in different parts of the country are printed in full and make revealing reading.

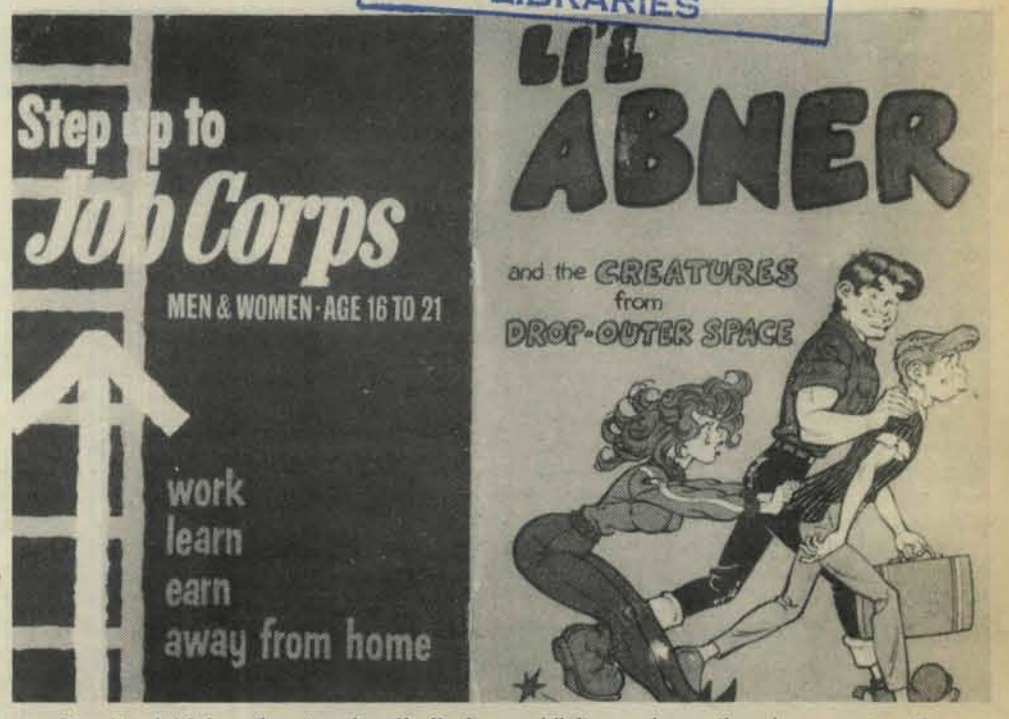
It is highly significant that not one of the remonstrating legislators has challenged one word of this report or taken exception to any of its findings. It stands today as uncontroverted as when issued earlier last month.

The GAO indicts the Job Corps program on a number of counts, foremost among them the following:

(*1*) High cost of training enrollees, estimated for the last fiscal year at $8,300—enough to put a student through four years of college; (*2*) large percentage of enrollees who quit in less than six months—average stay last year was around five months; (*3*) Job Corps trainees displayed no "clearly attributable" improvement in security employment; (*4*) net average wage increment attributable to this costly program is estimated at 7 cents; (*5*) a study of 211 enrollees who did get jobs revealed that 75 per cent left in the first four months. Of the 211, 59 were fired and another 59 quit for unknown reasons. The discharges were for absenteeism, dishonesty, failure to perform adequately, violation of rules and policies.

Throughout, the GAO study is dubious and critical of the worth and high cost of Job Corps training.

"Weaknesses in the policies and procedures under which the program has been administered have detracted significantly from its success," says the report. "Considering both direct and indirect costs for the centers in operation as of June 30, 1968, enrollee man-year costs for fiscal 1968 were $8,300. . . . In light of the costly training provided by the Job Corps program, we doubt that the resources now being applied to it can be fully justified.



Despite initial outbursts of self-effacing publicity such as the above poster, the Job Corps has come nowhere near achieving its goals.

"The reasons most readily identified for the failure of Corps members to stay at the centers until completing the program were (*1*) dissatisfaction with the center or Corps as a whole, (*2*) inability to obtain vocational training, and (3) fear of bodily harm."

Not mentioned in the report are the numerous complaints from members of Congress, based on letters from enrollees and their parents, of extortion, physical assaults, robbery, gang fights, terrorism and personal indignities.

The survey pointedly stresses the questionable value of Job Corps training in securing employment.

"On an over-all basis," says the report, "it appears that the Job Corps has achieved only limited success in fulfilling its primary purpose of assisting young persons who need and can benefit from an unusually intensive program to develop capabilities for work and social responsibility. . . . On the basis of studies relating to post-Job Corps experience, it is questionable whether that training has resulted in substantial economic benefit for those youths who participated in the program.

"It appeared that increased employment and earning power can be attributable for the most part to the greater employability of youths due to the process of growing up and to higher employment and wage levels. . . . It also appeared that Job Corps terminees had not done materially better than other eligible youths who had applied to enter the program and then chose not to participate.

"On the basis of the analysis, in the employment area the terminees showed no major improvement clearly attributable to the program."

From the inception of the Job Corps program in 1964 to Dec. 31, 1968, some 223,000 youths enrolled in the training centers. There are no official figures on the number of "graduates."

Total federal payments and other assistance to the poor have soared from $9.8 billion in 1961 to $22.1 billion in 1968 and to an estimated $24.4 billion this year. The 1970 budget for such expenditures is $27.2 billion.

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NEWSPAPER

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● Fresh military intelligence now indicates the Soviets may actually have okayed in advance the North Korean seizure of the "Pueblo" and the shooting down of the EC-121. This explosive information, part of which has already been confirmed, may thoroughly dynamite any hopes that Nixon has in reaching an early **summit with the Kremlin gang.**

● Dr. **Jerome Wiesner**, President Kennedy's chief scientific adviser and now a central force in the anti-ABM campaign, has revealed that he has long opposed just about any improvement in U.S. nuclear defenses—and not on scientific grounds, but in the belief that we would offend the Communists. In a recent statement Wiesner acknowledged that he had "fought very hard against MIRV [multiple warheads shot from a single missile] and Minuteman III [our advanced long-range missile]. . . . In my opinion, MIRV and Minuteman III were provocative and unnecessary. . . ." Wiesner, in short, does not look on the ABM with detachment, but from the viewpoint of a confirmed peacenik.

● A University of Chicago expert has warned that within eight years the Soviet Union will be able to destroy 95 per cent of our land-based missile force. Our only protection, says Prof. Albert Wohlstetter, is development of an **anti-ballistic missile.** Testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Wohlstetter said that the existence of the Soviets' massive SS-9 rocket demands construction of an ABM system.

● Liberal Rep. **George Brown Jr.** (D.-Calif.) last week brought into Washington a group called the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) to peddle their arguments against the deployment of the ABM Safeguard System. The Boston-based organization spent two days on Capitol Hill trying to drum up enthusiasm for their cause. One of their scientists is Bernard Feld, president of the peacenik Council for a Livable World. At a press conference in a House committee room Rep. Brown snapped that he "fully supported" the UCS—the same group that promoted a work stoppage last March 4 in an effort to cripple the nation's defense effort.

● Responding to the outcries against the **flood-tide of pornography** let loose in the nation, President Nixon will soon ask Congress to pass a law similar to a Supreme Court-approved New York statute which curbs the flow of smut to minors.

● While the postal employe unions are demanding pay increases that match the gains for those working in private industry, Postmaster Gen. **Winton Blount** indicates such increases may not be deserved. In a refreshing rebuff to union demands, Blount recently stressed that postal employe work productivity has failed to keep up with the productivity increases in industry, thus hinting that he will oppose any outlandish requests for sizeable salary hikes.

Capital Briefs

● Sen. John McClellan's famed subcommittee on investigations will open block-buster hearings within the next few weeks, detailing the interlocking conspiracy of **black nationalists and white revolutionaries.** Subcommittee staffers have reportedly developed "astounding information" in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Detroit and other cities.

● The exiting of **Sol M. Linowitz** as U.S. delegate to the Organization of American States has pleased a number of old Cuban hands in the State Department. According to these sources, Linowitz has been a leading advocate of "rapprochement" with Castro.

● House Minority Leader Gerald Ford reports that **Peking-trained Arabs** are taking part in college disturbances throughout the United States. Ford, who has access to top-secret FBI and CIA reports, says that agents from Al Fatah, the Arab terrorist movement, have been dispatched to the United States to foment trouble.

● Minneapolis voters threw a scare into both major parties last week when they gave a ringing endorsement to a political novice running on a platform of "law and order." Independent **Charles S. Stenvig**, a detective in the Minneapolis police department, trounced both major party nominees in the city's mayoral primary. Stenvig, who polled 42 per cent of the vote in the 10-man field, will meet Republican **Dan Cohen** in the June 10 run-off.

● The **League of Women Voters** has done it again, this time putting the nation's ladies on the side of Peking. After a three-year "study," according to League bureaucrats in Washington, it was decided the United States should seek cultural, trade and diplomatic relations with the Chinese Reds. Proclaimed Mrs. Bruce Benson, the League's president: "Pass another note, try another tack, until we get somewhere. We're willing to take whatever risks are involved."

● As expected, Republican **Barry M. Goldwater Jr.** easily defeated Democrat John van de Kamp for the House seat in California's 27th Congressional District. Ed Reinecke had vacated it earlier this year to become the state's lieutenant governor. Making his first try for public office, Barry Jr., whose name appeared to have a special magic, promises to be at least as conservative as his father.

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ABM Vote Hangs in the Balance

As the result of a rip-roaring campaign put on by opponents of an *American* defensive missile program—most of these same foes have never criticized the one already under way in the Soviet Union—the Nixon Administration's urgent request that Congress okay the immediate deployment of the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system is in serious danger of being defeated.

The defeat of this program, it is generally realized, would have profound—and disastrous—effects on U.S. military and foreign policy around the globe. It could, say diplomatic experts, easily unravel NATO, SEATO and a host of other important alliances. It could also deal a savage psychological blow to the South Vietnamese, who appear increasingly capable of dealing with the Communist foe within their country.

What nation, it is being asked, would be willing to resist Soviet and Red Chinese-backed aggression if the signs seem clear that the U.S., the most powerful country in the free world, has no intention of doing so? How could anyone believe the U.S. has the will to resist when it won't even permit the erection of a relatively inexpensive defensive missile system which dozens of respected military and scientific experts—propaganda to the contrary—believe is workable and vital to the defense of this nation?

A setback to the Safeguard, according to foreign policy observers, might very well touch off that nuclear holocaust that the whole world wants to avoid, for the Kremlin hardliners would almost certainly view the defeat as a sign that the U.S. is withdrawing from the Cold War. The Soviet leaders might very well be emboldened by such a reading to embark on a new and reckless aggressive course that would end in nuclear war.

Thus the Nixon Administration sees Senate approval of the Safeguard—the House will pass it easily—as crucially important to the free world's safety. A vote in the upper chamber should come up shortly. The time to write your senators in support of the ABM is *now*. While all senators should be written to, *Human Events* lists below those lawmakers who are believed to be wavering at the moment. Special attention should be paid to them. The "waverers" are:

Clinton Anderson (D.-N.M.), George Aiken (R.-Vt.), Boggs (R.-Del.), Harry Byrd (D.-Va.), Robert Byrd (D.-W.Va.), Howard Cannon (D.-Nev.), Mike Gravel (D.-Alaska), Vance Hartke (D.-Ind.), John McClellan (D.-Ark.), Gale W. McGee (D.-Wyo.), Lee Metcalf (D.-Mont.), Joseph Montoya (D.-N.M.), Frank Moss (D.-Utah), Winston Prouty (R.-Vt.), William Saxbe (R.-Ohio), Richard Schweiker (R.-Pa.) and John Williams (R.-Del.).

Gore's Stacked ABM Hearings

While national polls reveal that the American people support the President's position on the anti-ballistic missile, senators are receiving a floodtide of letters demanding that they oppose deployment of the Safeguard system. Some offices say that the letter count is running almost 10 to 1 in opposition, much of it generated by massive mailing efforts of such peacenik organizations as the National Council of Churches, SANE and Mothers for Peace.

GORE

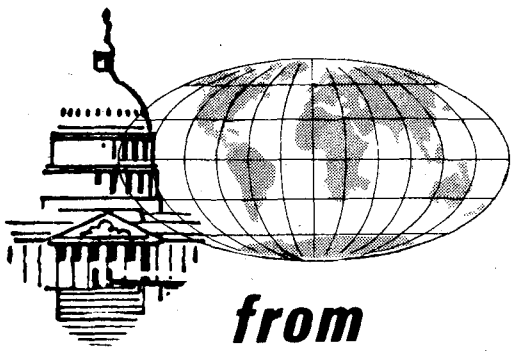
Yet equally as important in influencing both the grass roots and the senators against the President's Safeguard program has been the amazingly one-sided hearings by Sen. Albert Gore's (D.-Tenn.) Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organization and Disarmament Affairs.

These widely televised hearings—unlike the subdued and balanced testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee—conveyed the impression across the country that the overwhelming weight of sound scientific opinion outside the government is opposed to the ABM.

So anti-ABM have Gore's hearings been, in fact, that Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) has felt impelled to write the Tennessee lawmaker twice to persuade him to balance the testimony.

Dodd wrote Gore on March 21 that in the interest of bringing out both sides of the case he should call a number of expert but non-governmental witnesses favorably disposed toward the ABM system. Gore, in effect, ignored Dodd's initial request.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

Indeed, as a result of Gore's stacking the hearings against the ABM, only two of 12 non-governmental witnesses who have appeared before the subcommittee to date have testified in support of the Administration's position. These supporters, however, could not command nearly the amount of television and newspaper coverage as such high-powered opponents as former presidential advisers Dr. James Killian, Dr. George Kistiakowsky and Dr. Herbert York.

Gore, further, cannot plead that he didn't know of any other pro-ABM scientists than those he picked. Not only did Dodd furnish Gore with names during the month of March and April, but so did Dr. Donald Brennan, one of the two pro-ABM scientists who appeared before the Gore subcommittee.

Among some 16 highly respected pro-ABM scientists Gore chose not to invite were: Dr. Edward Teller, one of the world's foremost nuclear physicists; Dr. Eugene Wigner, the Princeton nuclear physicist and Nobel Prize laureate; Dr. Harold M. Agnew, deputy director of the Weapons Division of Los Alamos Laboratories; and Dr. Freeman Dyson, nuclear physicist at the Institute for Advanced Studies.

The damage the Gore hearings have caused the pro-ABM forces has not yet taken its full toll. For the subcommittee's lopsided testimony, now in published form, is rapidly becoming the basic reference text for senators who will soon have to decide how they will vote on the ABM. Even if Gore finally relents to Dodd's latest request to call up additional pro-ABM scientists, as Gore now says he intends to do, the fact is that the initial Gore hearings will have been instrumental in shaping the anti-ABM arguments in the press, the public and the Congress during the crucial months of March, April and, probably, most of May.

U.S. Reds' Anti-ABM Campaign

Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin has publicly declared that the ABM is not a provocative weapon, but the Moscow-lining Communist press in the United States has as its No. 1 objective the defeat of America's Safeguard program.

The new Communist paper, the *Daily World*, which instructs party agents where to direct their activities, has been saturated with articles designed to organize mass opposition to the mere thought of the United States deploying a defensive missile system.

The *Daily World* editorial of March 18 gives this directive to all party members: "It is urgent that every union and other people's organizations renew . . . demands on Congress and the White House" that the ABM "be abandoned."

Even the Viet Nam war has taken second place on the Communist propaganda priority list in order to make room for such three-inch-high *Daily World* anti-ABM headlines as these: "CITIES MENACED BY MISSLE STEPS" (Feb. 6); "CONGRESS DUCKING MISSILE PROTESTS" (Feb. 7); "SCIENTISTS ENTER FIGHT ON MISSILES" (Feb. 8); "ARMY PRODS LABOR TO BACK MISSILES" (Feb. 12); "EUROPE OPPOSES U.S. SENTINEL" (Feb. 15); "DIXIECRATS STALL MISSILE HEARINGS" (Feb. 18); "STOP-MISSILE LOBBY RALLIES AT CAPITOL" (Feb. 28).

In the last three weeks of March, notes the respected anti-Communist Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, the front page of 10 out of 15 issues of the *Daily World* was splashed with these screaming anti-ABM headlines: "STOP THE PENTAGON'S MISSILE STEAMROLLER!" (Mar. 8); "MISSILE PROTEST AT WHITE HOUSE" (Mar. 11); "PRESIDENT WARNED: ABM PERILS PEACE" (Mar. 4); "NIXON OKAYS ABM, STEPS UP COLD WAR" (Mar. 15); "PEACE GROUPS ACT TO DEFEAT ABM" (Mar. 18); "ABM MENACES ALL-THE REAL TRUTH" (Mar. 19); "ABM WILL SET OFF US-USSR ARMS RACE" (Mar. 21); "SENATE DOVES RAP ABM RED SCARE" (Mar. 26). Similar headlines have been scattered through the April issues.

During February and March the *Daily World* attacked the ABM in 61 significant articles, 12 editorials and two cartoons.

While liberal senators will undoubtedly squawk about the comparison, it is interesting to note that the Communists are using the same sort of arguments against the ABM as are America's genuine peaceniks.

The major Communist arguments against the ABM system are the following:

"The ABM wll escalate the arms race"; "The ABM is a danger to the people living in the area"; "The high cost of the ABM will divert money from poverty programs and other social needs"; "All scientists oppose the ABM [see story above contradicting this];' and the ABM "is wanted only by what President Eisenhower called the 'military-industrial complex.'"

L.A.'s Yorty-Bradley Race

As the impending May 27 run-off looms, the Los Angeles mayoralty race has turned into a torrid contest that could have far-reaching political significance. The news reports nationwide have concentrated on the fact that Thomas Bradley, a councilman and ex-policeman, may become the city's first Negro mayor. Bradley, an impressive-appearing individual who is being billed as "Mr. Clean," faces maverick Democrat Sam Yorty, the flamboyant incumbent whose eight years in office have been slightly tarnished by the corruption uncovered in many of the boards and commissions packed with Yorty appointees.

But the outcome could have repercussions far more consequential than the skin color of Los Angeles' new mayor or the normal amount of corruption uncovered during any administration. For the simple fact is that forces behind Bradley are hoping to use his candidacy to forge a radical bastion in Southern California, with the hope of recapturing the state for the liberal Democrats in 1970 and the crucial presidential year of 1972.

It is precisely this possibility, in fact, that impelled Henry Salvatori, an influential adviser to Gov. Ronald Reagan, to take over the management of Yorty's campaign after the mayor ran so disastrously in the April primary.

The evidence pointing to the fact that the Bradley candidacy has become a rallying point

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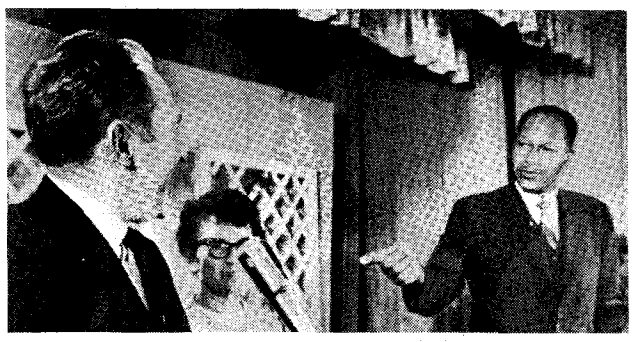
for the liberal and radical wing of the Democratic party is overwhelming.

Bradley himself has some rather far-out ties. Aside from being a staunch supporter of Bobby Kennedy for President in 1968, Bradley is a member of California's far-left branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. Furthermore, he recently teamed up with the New Democratic Coalition, a national group whose members describe themselves as "radical-liberal" and several degrees to the left of Hubert Humphrey.

Equally as interesting is the fact that members of the left-wing California Democratic Council are extremely active on behalf of Bradley. Indeed, CDC members, according to Bradley's headquarters, may



Mayor Sam Yorty (left) and opponent Thomas Bradley clash in a recent TV debate.

be the most important Democratic element working for his candidacy.

An idea of where the CDC alights in the political spectrum can be gleaned from its latest statewide meeting held on April 18 in Fresno. During that conclave the organization demanded repeal of the federal anti-riot bill, praised rioters at San Francisco State and called for the resignation of Acting President S. I. Hayakawa. Nevertheless, Bradley is flaunting CDC support.

Nor is this all. Even more disturbing has been the fact that Bradley has as his campaign manager Maury Weiner, who is also Southern California director for the ultra-left Californians for Liberal Representation. The CLR actively backed a number of Viet Nam doves last year, including Senators George McGovern and Wayne Morse.

Another high-ranking strategist for Bradley has been the controversial Don Rothenberg, who in 1955 invoked the 5th Amendment before the House Committee on Un-American Activities after he had been identified as a Communist. Rothenberg now insists he left the party in 1956, but he has continued to involve himself in radical activities. The northern director of the CLR, Rothenberg has been on the masthead of the "New Left" *Ramparts* magazine as an assistant to the publisher. He was also an active sponsor of the Communist-dominated Spring Mobilization committee which sparked anti-Viet Nam war demonstrations throughout the country in 1967.

In July 1967 he was chairman of a meeting held in San Francisco to form the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee. The meeting discussed methods to "combat an alarming growth of racism in the white community." Reporting on the meeting, the San Francisco *Examiner* identified a number of those present as Communist party members and stated that he chaired a meeting that sparked "a drive to buy guns for Bay Area Negroes to give them a fighting chance against police and National Guardsmen in the course of a long, hot summer." When Rothenberg's record was brought to light, moreover, Bardley rose to his defense and kept him in the campaign.

With Bradley having heavily topped Yorty in the primary, there seems little chance to halt him at the moment, though the polls indicate that Yorty still has a fighting chance. If Yorty fails, however, America's radicals are certain to celebrate his defeat.

• Because of the liberal-radical flavor of the Bradley campaign, Republican regulars in the Golden State are furious over the fact that various GOP liberals, including Senators Charles Percy, Charles Goodell, former Sen. Thomas Kuchel and Rep. Alphonso Bell, have decided to endorse the Bradley candidacy. A number of leading Democrats, including Humphrey and Muskie, have already come to Bradley's aid. Both Senators Edward Kennedy and George McGovern are expected to publicly speak on Bradley's behalf this week.

YRs' Fight on the Right

The ruling conservative faction in the Young Republican National Federation (YRNF) is being split down the middle in this year's sharply contested battle for the post of YRNF national chairman. There are currently two conservative candidates fighting for the chairmanship and each has strong support within "The Syndicate," as the federation's conservative members refer to themselves.

As a result, there is a definite prospect of a Republican liberal winning the chairmanship at the YRNF national convention in Chicago this July. Such a defeat would mean diminution in influence for the Syndicate, which has held sway over the federation since the early '50s; this defeat could also have ramifications in the senior party.

Young Republican leaders had sought to avoid just such a blood-letting battle by having the two conservative candidates, Ben Cotten of Washington, D.C., and Ron Romans of Nebraska, agree to a pre-convention "advisory primary" of Syndicate members. The primary was held during the Young Republican Leadership Training School in Washington, March 15.

Romans won the primary by three votes. According to prior arrangement, Cotten, as the primary loser, was to have supported winner Romans so the Syndicate would present a united front at the Chicago YRNF convention. Cotten, however, has now decided to contest Romans for the YR chairmanship.

The dispute between the two candidates does not concern their personal political ideologies, as both have support from respected conservative leaders. Rather, it involves charges and countercharges over tactics used in the primary and whether or not, as Cotten contends, the Romans forces made a "deal" with the YRNF's liberal "Gangbuster" faction. Cotten charges that the "Gangbusters" helped Romans win the primary and that Romans is reciprocating by not opposing the liberal-backed candidate for YRNF treasurer.

(The YR "Gangbusters," who are mostly concentrated in such Eastern states as New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Ohio, want very badly to get a toehold in the YRNF so they can push "their man" up the ladder to national chairman in 1971. This move, if successful, would have some impact on the senior GOP in 1972.)

Due to their suspicions of a Romans-Gangbuster "deal" and anger over the conduct of the primary, Cotten supporters are in no mood to back Romans at the Chicago convention. And this attitude, plus the fact he believes there will be deep division in the Syndicate bloc at the convention in any case, are what caused Cotten to brush aside the primary results and declare himself back in the chairmanship race.

This move was not universally welcomed within the YRNF, as its leaders believe it can only serve to weaken Syndicate control. Cotten claims he will have a majority of the Syndicate delegates at the convention, an assessment Romans spokesmen think is ridiculous; they believe Cotten may deny Romans a victory, but cannot win himself.

If Cotten and Romans cannot iron out their differences, as now seems likely, the YRNF liberals may not have to wait until 1971 to capture the federation. Veteran Syndicate leaders believe one cause of the current in-fighting is the total collapse of the liberal opposition within the YRNF, but that this condition could be deceptive; the liberal "Gangbusters," these veterans concur, could make a quick comeback in a deadlocked convention.

So go the bizarre, byzantine political maneuverings within the Young Republican National Federation. Although the YRNF, in and of itself, is a rather insignificant political body, the makeup of its national leadership is often interpreted in political circles and in the press as indicative of trends in the senior GOP. For this reason, the current split in the Syndicate bloc is of concern to conservatives.

Rustin Roasts 'Soul Courses'

Bayard Rustin, the Negro civil rights leader who used to be Martin Luther King's right-hand man, has

called on college and univerity officials to "stop capitulating to the stupid demands of Negro students" and, instead, "see that they get the remedial training that they need."

With an obvious reference to the Cornell University situation, Rustin stressed last week that a multiple society "cannot exist where an element in that society, out of its own sense of guilt and masochism, permits another segment of that society to hold guns at their heads in the name of justice."

While voicing these blunt views in an interview and then in an address before the New York chapter of the American Jewish Committee, Rustin also assailed black militants demanding courses "in soul music and poetry."

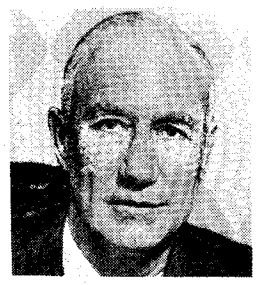
"What in hell," snapped Rustin, "are soul courses worth in the real world? No one gives a damn if you've taken soul courses. They want to know if you can do mathematics and write a correct sentence."

Rustin declared further: "Everyone knows that education for the Negro is inferior. Bring them into the uniersity with the understanding that they must have the remedial work they require.

"The easy way out is to let them have black courses and their own dormitories and give them degrees."

Behind the 'Times" Vendetta

Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) has shed some interesting light on the New York *Times*' recent opposition to the nomination of Otto Otepka as a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board.



THURMOND

While everyone has a right to an opinion on this topic, noted Thurmond, the *Times* "has been less than candid in acknowledging its own conflict of interest in this affair. Readers who read the recent editorial attacking Mr. Otepka's integrity would have found no clue indicating that one of the principal names in the Otepka case was printed at the top of the newspaper masthead. I am referring, of course, to Mr. Harding F. Bancroft, executive vice president of the New York *Times*."

Bancroft's name, it turns out, was one of six submitted to Otepka for evaluation from a security and suitability standpoint. Because of certain material of a security nature which Otepka found in their files, the regulations of the State Department under Executive Order No. 10450 required that a full investigation of each of the six would be necessary.

• *The Senate Judiciary Committee last week postponed action on the nomination of former State Department chief security evaluator Otto Otepka to be a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board. The delay until May 13 was requested by Sen. Joseph D. Tydings (D.-Md.), who said he and Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) wanted to study the record of the hearing held by a subcommittee on April 15. Sen. Kennedy, it is believed, has been seriously considering opposing the Otepka appointment.*

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While neither Otepka nor anyone else alleged impropriety by any of the six, Otepka demanded that all of the individuals, including Bancroft, be subjected to the extended investigation which regulations required.

To evade such procedures, the department chose to appoint Bancroft on a waiver, thus removing the case from Otepka's hands. This action later became a central issue in Otepka's testimony before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee when he cited it as an example of the downgrading of security regulations. When his superiors denied that any such action had been taken, Otepka furnished for the subcommittee his memorandum protesting the waivers as evidence that his superiors had lied.

Bancroft's expressed views on security, furthermore, were contrary to the security policies under which Otepka was operating.

After Bancroft was hired on the basis of a security waiver, he participated in framing a report for the State Department which recommended that U.S. citizens employed by the United Nations should not be made the subject of regular security precautions. The report of this commission also became one of the cases investigated by SISS as evidence of the scrapping of the security system at State.

Now, notes Thurmond, Bancroft's newspaper is leading the vendetta against Otepka. "It is hard to believe," says Thurmond, "that there is not some element of retaliation in this instance."

The *Times* has refused to comment on Thurmond's charges.

Those Democratic Holdovers

Congressional Republicans have grown increasingly impatient with the Administration's pace in "cleaning house" of Democratic holdovers. "It's six months since the voters turned out the Democrats," Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen remarked privately last week. "It's time the Administration realized this."

Dirksen's observation was buttressed by a government-wide survey conducted by the Associated Press. "Holdovers from Democratic years still occupy key jobs in the vast federal establishment," AP's Gaylord Shaw reported. Examples:

- Seven of the eight top jobs at the Office of Economic Opportunity are filled by Johnson Administration veterans.
- At the Pentagon, Nixon appointees occupy less than half of the 29 first-line civilian jobs.
- Of the 109 slots subject to political appointment in the Agriculture Department's Washington headquarters, the Nixon Administration has filled only 46. There are 38 holdovers and 25 vacancies.

In other agencies, while Republicans occupy the highest-paying jobs, Democrats remain entrenched in the second-level jobs where policy is often set. Seven of the eight assistant attorneys general, for instance, are Nixon appointees. But at the next step down, AP noted, the deputy assistant attorneys general, the division heads and practically everyone else is a Johnson carry-over.

Administration officials concede privately that a "terrible mistake" was made in soliciting job applications from literally hundreds of thousands of people —including, for instance, every single person mentioned in *Who's Who in America*. "We just got buried in paper," a White House aide admits. "We're digging ourselves out now."

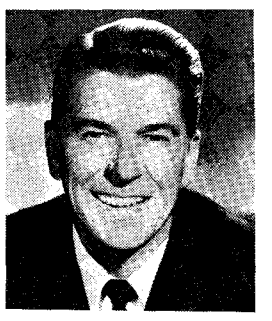
For Dirksen and other GOP leaders, it is none too soon.

DIRKSEN

NIXON

Reagan's Popularity Rise

A private poll taken by Democratic politicians in California reveals that Gov. Ronald Reagan is far more highly regarded by Golden State voters than his two potential Democratic challengers—Assembly Minority Leader Jesse Unruh and San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto. Made available to the Associated Press by Democratic sources, the poll was taken early in February among 1,000 people selected throughout the state.



REAGAN

The same survey reports that Reagan, who is likely to run for a second term in 1970, is favorably thought of by 63.8 per cent of the voters. Unruh, who is now hobnobbing with the New Left crowd, has a 49.2 per cent favorable rating, while Alioto received a 44.3 per cent vote.

Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.), according to the same poll, appears far ahead of his probable challenger, Democratic Rep. John Tunney. While Murphy has a 57.4 per cent favorable rating with the voters, Tunneys' is only 21.2 per cent. Aside from this, the poll revealed that Tunney was almost an unknown, with 73 per cent of the people having no opinion on him at all.

Domino Theory Endorsed

A study put out by the highly prestigious Institute for Strategic Studies has underscored the reasons President Nixon and his chief foreign policy adviser, Henry Kissinger, believe that the United States cannot turn over South Viet Nam to the Communists.

In a booklet called "Problems of Modern Strategy," the London-based institute endorsed the domino theory of Asian politics which says that if the United States allows Viet Nam to fall into Communist hands, the rest of the Asian peninsula would also go under.

"A North Vietnamese victory," claims the study,

"would be followed very rapidly by the absorption of Laos." Cambodia, too, would be unlikely to survive for very long and Thailand's turn would come next.

"It should be noted in this context that the vast American investment in strategic air bases in Thailand, and in aid to her governments over the years, makes sense only on the assumption that South Viet Nam is to be held. If it is abandoned, Thailand will be expendable," said the study.

"If the Americans are forced, whether for military or political reasons, to pull out of Viet Nam, their defeat . . . will be hailed by revolutionaries everywhere as the final vindication of the theory of the people's revolutionary war. . . ."

"In that event," the study goes on, "the efforts now being made to launch such insurrections or sustain them in Africa and Latin America would be redoubled."

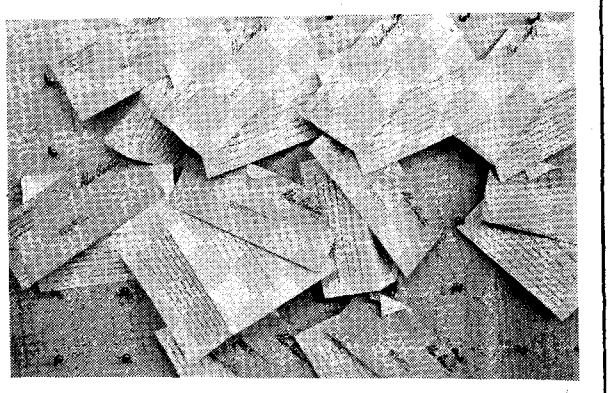
- South Korean President Chung Hee Park has expressed some very encouraging views in connection with the war in South Viet Nam. According to Park, whose own country has some 60,000 troops in Viet Nam, the allied forces are in an "overwhelmingly advantageous position" militarily. "Conversely," he claims, "the fighting strength of the Communist forces is weakening daily.

"According to recent reports, units organized entirely of female troops sent by North Viet Nam were recently discovered. This did not mean that Communist North Viet Nam was completely out of manpower. But that fact alone shows that North Viet Nam is having difficulty with manpower."

The so-called spring offensive this year, Park exclaimed, "shows that the enemy is far more weakened than it was at the time of the Tet offensive last year. The pressure of the spring offensive was very weak. That we clearly noticed. Furthermore, the government of the Republic of Viet Nam is gradually becoming stable, with its power and control expanding daily.

"In addition, the combat capability of the forces of the Republic of Viet Nam has markedly improved compared with the past and, as a consequence, U.S. troops are gradually transferring their duties to the Vietnamese troops. All this indicates brighter prospects."

Alan Cranston: No. 1 Franker?



The *Mercury Register* in Oroville, Calif., has revealed that Alan Cranston, the Golden State's just-elected junior senator, is flooding the mails with his franked letters from Washington. Ten arrived at the *Register*'s office on April 21, three of them duplicates. As a rule, they come at the rate of three a day.

"This," says the *Register*, "is contrasted with maybe two a week from Sen. George Murphy and one a week in other days from Sen. Kuchel."

In promoting himself, Cranston writes letters to his constituents along these lines:

"Senator Alan Cranston issued the following statement on drug abuse: . . . ."

"In a telegram to leaders of veteran organizations, Sen. Alan Cranston declared his 'deep concern' over the Administration's $130-million cut in the Veterans' Administration budget. . . ."

"I intend to introduce a Senate resolution that no Job Corps installation be shut down until Congress completes its normal legislative and budgetary deliberations on the program. . . ."

Concludes the *Register*: "There is no limit on the number of franked (free) mailings a member of Congress may send. As Cranston represents the largest state in population, he may end his first year as the No. 1 franker of Congress."

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Reprints are now available of Sen. Henry M. Jackson's speech, "Five Myths That Beset Us," which appeared in **Human Events**, April 26. Single copies 35¢; 10 - $3; 50 - $12.50; 100 - $25.

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First-Hand View of the Great Grape Strike Hoax

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Delano, Calif.:—The grapevines stand in trellised ranks, green-sleeved, precisely spaced, as disciplined as troops in close-order drill. Their cross-pieces are angled at right shoulder arms; they make of the flat brown earth a crowded battlefield.

It is for possession of this battlefield that California's table-grape growers and an AFL-CIO union are struggling. The conflict long ago stretched beyond the Delano community.

For the past three-and-one-half years well-meaning liberals across the country—not to mention a number of politicians on the make—have been giving full-hearted support to the "grape boycott" urged by Cesar Chavez, and to the supposed "grape strike" behind it. Chavez is director of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO. When it comes to recruiting union members, Chavez is a flop; his UFWOC has recruited amazingly few.

But when it comes to mounting a publicity campaign, the man is an undoubted genius. He turned up recently with a bylined piece in *Look* extolling his non-violent piety. His "boycott" bumper stickers blossom on half-a-million Volkswagens. In dozens of parochial schools, such is the gullibility of the nuns, little children compose insulting letters to grape growers as exercises in English. Hippies, Yippies, priests, professors, political figures, and housewives with time on their hands—all of them are whooping it up for the downtrodden grape pickers of Kern County, Calif.

It is a hoax, a fantasy, a charade, a tissue of half-truths and whole fabrications. Within the past 10 days, since Chavez blundered into his first big public relations error, the union's effort has become something more—a brazen, ugly and undisguised bid for "closed shop" power over the lives of farm workers everywhere.

To swallow the Chavez line, you must believe that grape workers in the Delano area are miserably paid, wretchedly housed and cruelly treated. You are urged to help feed "hungry children," the victims of the system that denies men a living wage. "At present rates," says an UFWOC handout given to me last week, "a farm worker who is fortunate enough to work 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year, would earn $2,386."

This is moonshine. The reporter who checks payrolls, goes into the fields, talks with workers, visits their homes, inspects the labor camps, and otherwise covers the story, gets an entirely different picture. The going base wage for grape workers is $1.65 an hour. At 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year, this would produce annual earnings of $3,432. Yet the hypothetical example has no meaning. This is not how grape workers work.

The typical Delano worker—if there is any such being—is a middle-aged Mexican-American with little formal education and few skills beyond those of grape and vegetable culture. He has a wife and two or three teen-aged children. As a resident alien of 10

Columnist Kilpatrick notes that organizer Cesar Chavez (above) really wants to dominate the whole of the migrant labor movement.

years' standing, he must register annually with the Immigration Service. Otherwise, he is free to live his proud, humble, independent life as others do.

Such a worker may have a dozen different employers during the year. He goes where the work is, from one vineyard to another. Thus, there is no such thing as an ordinary "bargaining unit," for the workers move around freely. George A. Lucas, a middle-sized grower, sent out 3,500 W-2 forms on workers last year.

In summer, the work is hard and hot; at other times, it is picnic-pleasant. Families take their lunches to the fields. Last week I talked at length with one such family of four. With the base wage, plus incentive supplements, they expected to earn about $325 for the week. At harvest time, this doubles. They drive a 1968 station wagon. A son is in college.

Out in the fields, the workers speak of the Chavez union with fear and contempt. They tell of threatening telephone calls at night, of repeated acts of vandalism and intimidation. They are fearful that beleaguered growers, anxious to end the nationwide boycott, may yet sell them like so many heads of lettuce to the UFWOC, which thereafter would control when and where they worked.

It is this press-gang power that Cesar Chavez is seeking. He wants his union to become the sole source of agricultural workers, under contracts that would forbid the growers to hire any non-union man. This is what the fight is all about and it is incredible that liberals, professing a love for the little fellow, should be helping him toward his goal.

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TVA and Its Expensive Compulsions

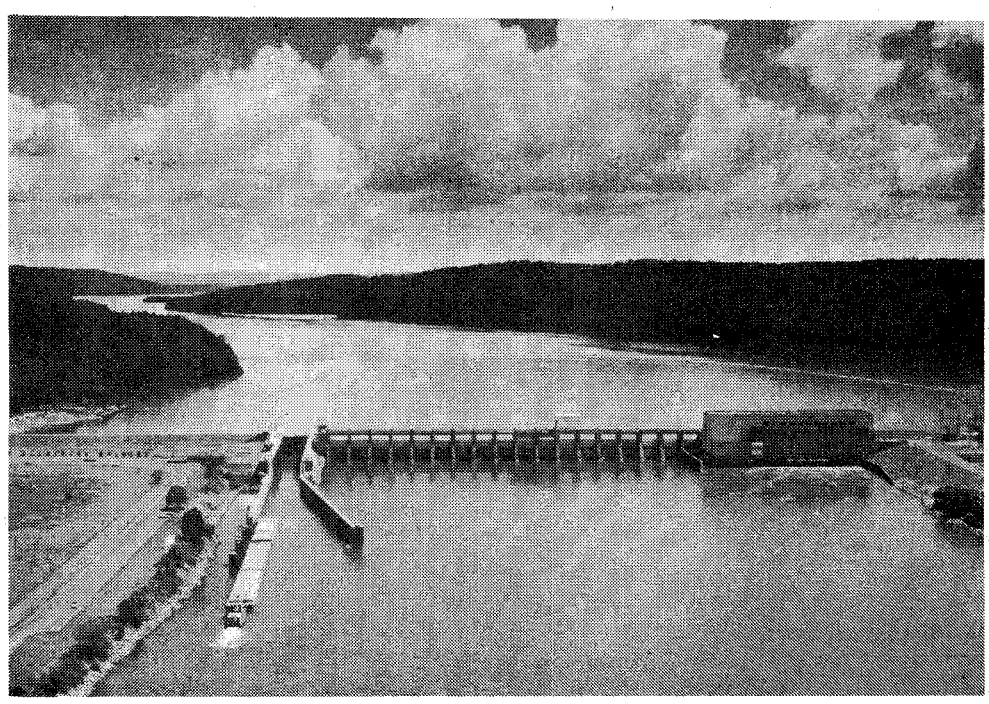
By RALPH de TOLEDANO

There have been few times when Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas and I were in full agreement. But I can do no more than applaud when he calls the administrators of the Tennessee Valley Authority "political hacks" with "a compulsion for make-work projects for the purpose of self-perpetuation."

Justice Douglas is up in arms, and justly so, because TVA is pushing ahead to flood agricultural, Indian and conservationist land for a dam "not particularly needed for flood control nor for power." Unless TVA's plan is thwarted, the Authority will buy about twice the land it needs for this useless flooding of beautiful countryside in order "to sell industrial sites on a piece of level land of several thousand acres." The last to benefit by this will be the American people as a whole, and those of the Tennessee Valley in particular.

This is what bureaucracy has come to mean in the United States.

In an article for *True* magazine, Mr. Douglas pours out his indignation at the "political hacks": "The lake resulting [from the flooding] will forever ruin the Little T as Tennessee's finest trout river, and as a picturesque free-flowing river enjoyed by canoeists and a host of others seeking an escape to an unspoiled natural setting. Finally it will



Although the Tennessee Valley Authority was created under FDR for the worthwhile purpose of flood control, time and taxpayers' money have created a bureaucratic monster.

forever flood historic sites sacred to the Cherokee Indians."

Already many Tennesseeans are attaching bumper stickers to their cars: "Save the Little T . . . ." If the TVA has its way, 300 families occupying 16,500 acres of rich bottomland will be displaced and part of the Knoxville milkshed will be destroyed.

The lands being so casually flooded by TVA now produce $14 million in beef, $11 million in dairy products, as well as 175 bushels of corn per acre, squash, watermelons and peas.

Historic Fort Loudoun, restored some years back, would be inundated. The best trout stream in the entire Southeast would be washed out. So, too, will a pine-tree experimental station on Rose Island. This experimental station has already developed a strain of woodlot fiber which guarantees added production of 10 to 15 per cent per tree.

Chota, the capital of the Cherokee nation since 1730, and a sanctuary where no blood could be spilled, will be flooded.

If there were a crying need for electrical power, for flood control, or for navigational developments, the "Little T" project could be defended. But TVA has been unable to demonstrate any need except those of its bureaucrats who must, at all costs, extend their empires.

In the past, TVA has exceeded the authority given it by Congress. Where it was set up to prevent floods, to improve navigation, and incidentally to produce hydro-electric power, it now builds steam plants that could be set up anywhere. TVA claims that its power has brought cheap electricity to the Tennessee Valley. But a cost study made by the second Hoover Commission in the '50s demonstrated conclusively that TVA power is more expensive than private power. What makes it look cheaper is that TVA has a rich uncle in Washington who pours billions into its coffers—money taken from taxpayers who have never been within a thousand miles of the Tennessee Valley.

TVA, in fact, has established a fiefdom in the Tennessee Valley and woe unto the man who tries to stand up against the feudal bureaucrats. This writer has good reason to know this.

When the criticism comes from Justice Douglas, that TVA's "political hacks" are driven by a "make-work compulsion," few will have the audacity to accuse him of being in the pay of the private utilities, or under their thrall. But there is only one way to block this latest raid by the TVA engineers. Publicity and a general outcry will give them pause. And a word to Congress that the millions to be spent on this outrageous project might well be elsewhere used would have a beneficial effect.

At present, TVA should be contributing to the Treasury, not spending dollars and adding to the inflationary spiral. The President and the Congress should be reminded of this—with as many letters as possible. The conservationists are always crying out that this or that project will be a handout to "big business." Perhaps their voices will also be heard when the culprit is big government.

(Copyright 1969, King Features Synd.)

Liberal Hits Ford Foundation

By VICTOR LASKY

The role of the Ford Foundation in unwittingly financing militant extremism and racial hatred among Mexican-Americans has been exposed by Rep. Henry Gonzalez (D.-Tex.).

Himself of Mexican origin, Mr. Gonzalez—in a House speech generally overlooked by the nation's press—declared that "the issue at hand . . . is hate." And he denounced the tax-exempt foundation for supporting forces among his people who are fomenting "simple, blind and stupid hatred" of white people—the so-called "Anglos."

"About three years ago the Ford Foundation took an interest in the Mexican-American minority group," the congressman who represents San Antonio declared. "What the foundation saw was an opportunity to help. That opportunity, coupled with the best of intentions, has produced . . . a very grave problem in the district I represent. As deeply as I must respect the intentions of the foundation, I must say that, where it aimed to produce unity, it has so far produced disunity; and where it aimed to help, it has hurt."

According to Mr. Gonzalez, the Ford Foundation, which is headed by McGeorge Bundy, created an umbrella organization called the Southwest Council of La Raza, contributing $630,000 to its coffers which it distributed to other newly invented groups with views "generally unaccepted and unpopular" with most Mexican-Americans.

"It also created a vague entity known as the 'Universidad de los Barrios' which is a local gang operation," said Mr. Gonzalez. "The 'universidad' has no curriculum and offers no courses, and the young toughs it works with have become what some neighbors believe to be a threat to safety and even life itself."

"After a murder took place on the doorstep of this place in January," Mr. Gonzalez continued, "witnesses described the place as a 'trouble spot.' Neighbors told me that they were terrified of the young men who hung around there, and that they were afraid to call the police. . . ."

The Ford Foundation also contributed funds to the militant Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO), which, according to Gonzalez, "distributes literature that I can only describe as hate sheets, designed to inflame passions and reinforce old wounds or open new ones; these sheets spew forth racism and hatred."

Moreover, the president of MAYO, whom Gonzalez did not identify, "is on the payroll of another Ford Foundation group, the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund." This individual spends his time making "speeches denegrating the 'Gringos' and calling for their elimination by 'killing them if all else fails. . . .'"

Mr. Gonzalez added: "I fear very much that the Ford Foundation miscalculated in choosing those who have charge over their grant money."

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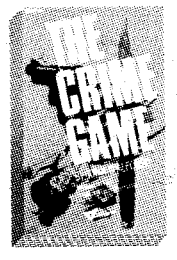

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Violence and Responsibility in the Academy

By SIDNEY HOOK

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(Dr. Hook, a professor of philosophy at New York University, is the author of numerous books and articles. Although he is considered a liberal on many issues, we thought his views on the causes of campus turmoil would be of great interest to our readers.)

Wherever American educators meet today, there is one theme of overriding concern that shadows their deliberations even when it is not on the agenda of discussion. This is the mounting wave of lawlessness, often cresting into violence, that has swept so many campuses.

Shortly after the riotous events at the University of California at Berkeley in 1964, I predicted that in consequence of the faculty's refusal to condemn the student seizure of Sproul Hall, the administration building, American higher education would never be the same again, that a turning point had been reached in the pattern of its development. I confess, however, to surprise at the rapidity of the change, if not its direction, and by the escalation of the violence accompanying it.

Equally significant in determining the changing intellectual climate of our universities are some of the secondary consequences of the accelerating disorders.

Among them are infectious, sometimes paralyzing, fear in administrative ranks lest their campuses erupt; confusion, bewilderment, and divided loyalties among faculties, together with some *Schaden-freude* over the humiliation of their administrations at the hands of disrespectful student militants; outright encouragement of student violence by disaffected, younger members of teaching staffs; sustained apathy among the majority of students whose education has been interrupted by radical activists; and the mixture of rage and disgust among the general public whose political repercussions already have been damaging to the cause of higher education.

In California the indignation of citizens over campus violence has brought Gov. Reagan to the peak of his popularity. More alarming, proposed bonds for educational expansion have been voted down. Of approximately 186,000 communications received to date by the trustees and colleges in the state system, more than 98 per cent were against campus disruption.

More than 70 separate bills, some of dubious wisdom, have been introduced in the Senate and Assembly to deal with disruption of campus activities by students and faculty. Similar bills are in the hoppers of other state legislatures, 20 in Wisconsin alone.

The situation in the East, although not marked by the same degree of physical violence (arson, bombings, beatings), educationally is equally grave. Some recent incidents at New York University, and its sister institution in New York City, Columbia, mark the extent to which violence has invaded the university and rational disciplinary restraints have been eroded.

Last December, Nguyen Huu Chi, the ambassador of South Viet Nam, visited New York University as an invited guest speaker. At a given signal, members of the Students for a Democratic Society from NYU and Columbia invaded the hall, stormed the stage, physically assaulted the ambassador and completely disrupted the meeting. Thereupon, they proceeded to another floor, battered down the doors leading to the podium of a meeting-hall where James Reston, executive editor of the New York *Times*, was about to deliver the annual Homer Watts Lecture before an audience of 600 under the auspices of the Alumni Association. The rampaging students spurned an invitation from Mr. Reston to state their objections to what they thought he was going to say, and by threats of violence forced the cancellation of the meeting.

Two students were suspended pending action by the university senate, and after a careful hearing, at which they refused to appear, were expelled in March.

The leaders of the SDS publicly applauded the disruptions, declaring that they disapproved of the positions of the government of South Viet Nam and the New York *Times* on the Viet Nam war. Most shocking of all, nine members of the faculty at Washington Square in a letter to the student paper endorsed the breaking up of the meeting of the South Vietnamese ambassador. Although they called the disruption of Mr. Reston's meeting "unfortunate" (as if it were an accident!), they strongly condemned President James M. Hester on the ground that, "we do not believe that the disruption of the Reston speech warrants suspension of the students."

They had not a single word of forthright or vigorous criticism of the SDS attack on Chi. The effect of their letter can only be to incite further student violence. It is noteworthy that many meetings and rallies in support of the Viet Cong and North Viet Nam have been held without incident.

At Columbia, Acting President Andrew W. Cordier had petitioned the courts through the dean of the Law School to dismiss the criminal charges against the Columbia students arrested for serious offenses last spring. The court was assured that the university would apply appropriate disciplinary measures to those guilty. The cases were therefore dismissed.

In December a Columbia College disciplinary tribunal of two teachers—one of them an instructor serving as chairman—two students and an administrator, decided to impose no penalties on the students whatsoever, despite the fact that the students proudly admitted violating university regulations and, to boot, denied the authority of the tribunal to judge them.

This incredible decision was taken in order "to re-establish student relationship to the university." These students had won complete amnesty for actions that had been deemed worthy of criminal prosecution when they had occurred.

Twice hearings in the Law School were violently disrupted by invading SDS students, and the faculty members of the panel were insulted with gutter obscenities. No one even dared to suggest that disciplinary action be taken against this new wave of disruption. The administrators and many of the faculty of Columbia University for months were deeply distraught. It appeared to some observers as if the university petition to have the criminal charges dropped against the students was a ruse by the administration to ingratiate itself with the militant students, to prove its "good will" toward them and, in this way, buy some campus peace. If so, the strategy failed. It provoked only contempt, jeers, and a stream of foul, four-letter epithets from the militants who held out for complete amnesty from the outset.

Encouraged by the amnesty, the Columbia SDS, with aid from outsiders, began to disrupt classes; a leaflet was distributed to justify such "classroom intervention." In some instances, students tore the notes out of their teachers' hands; in others, they shouted them down. By December, according to one source, as many as 13 "interventions" had been perpetrated. No action was taken either by the faculty or by the administration. An inquiry from an education editor, who had gotten wind of the situation, went unanswered. No one on campus would talk for publication.

Their appetites whetted by the complaisance or timidity of their victims, the students of the SDS escalated the scale of their disruptions. The *Columbia Spectator* of February 27 reported that "Members of the SDS yesterday interrupted nearly 40 classes in six university buildings."

Finally, on March 10, a public statement in response to these outrages was issued by a hundred, mostly senior, professors. In it they declared that the university had an obligation to defend itself against hooliganism. Referring to the policy of amnesty, they criticized the abandonment of disciplinary proceedings for previous serious infractions.

Much of the student unrest had a beginning with Berkeley's Mario Savio (arrow) back in 1964. Student demands then were tame compared to the current situation.

President Cordier immediately rushed to endorse the statement taking care, at the same time, to minimize the number of class disruptions, but failing to explain why he had remained silent about the breaking up of classes in December, although he was aware of it, and why he had welcomed the abandonment of disciplinary proceedings.

Punitive legislation, either federal or state, would be undesirable in this situation for many reasons. It would tie the government too closely to campus events and discipline at a time when a section of the academic community believes that governmental presence is already too obtrusive. Further, the effectiveness of such legislation would depend upon the cooperation of administration and faculty in enforcing it. Most important, existing statutes of the university, and the criminal law, already provide sufficient penalties (suspension, expulsion, fines, and jail for trespassing and assault) to meet disruption, if they were enforced.

Why have they not been enforced? Why has the defense of faculties against these brazen attempts to violate their academic freedom, not only by disruption, but by demands to control the content and personnel of instruction, been so feeble and long-delayed?

Why, as one professor observed who had helped the Berkeley rebels triumph in 1964, have administrations and faculties behaved like buffalos being shot, "looking on with interest when another of their number goes down, without seriously thinking that they may be next"?

Although the major causes of student unrest are outside the universities (Viet Nam, the urban crisis, the black revolution) and cannot be solved by them alone, the way in which unrest is expressed, whether creatively or violently, can be influenced by the ideas and attitudes brought to it. This is particularly true today. For although comparatively few institutions have been the scene of violent demonstrations as serious as those at Columbia, Berkeley, and San Francisco State, there is hardly a college or university in the country in which there is not some marked uneasiness, some movement among students toward direct action on the verge of exploding into sit-downs, sit-ins, and other forms of mass violations of rules and regulations suddenly discovered to be as silly, anachronistic, or authoritarian as some of them undoubtedly are.

But what struck me about the mood of the students in scores of colleges I visited is that even when these rules and regulations were *not* being enforced, and student conduct was as free and uninhibited as on campuses not subject to these objectionable rules, there was an insistence on their abolition—despite evidence that the formal abolition was likely to stir up a hornet's nest among alumni or townsfolk or state legislatures. This testified partly to student impatience with the "hypocrisy" of tolerating laws that were not being enforced, but even more to the presence of a desire to precipitate a showdown with authority, to be where the action is, to have the nation's television cameras focused on the local scene and on the local leaders of dissent. One of the undoubted effects of the kind of coverage given campus disorders by the mass media in their alleged desire merely to report these occurrences is to encourage them by exaggerating their scope and glorifying the heroes of the moment.

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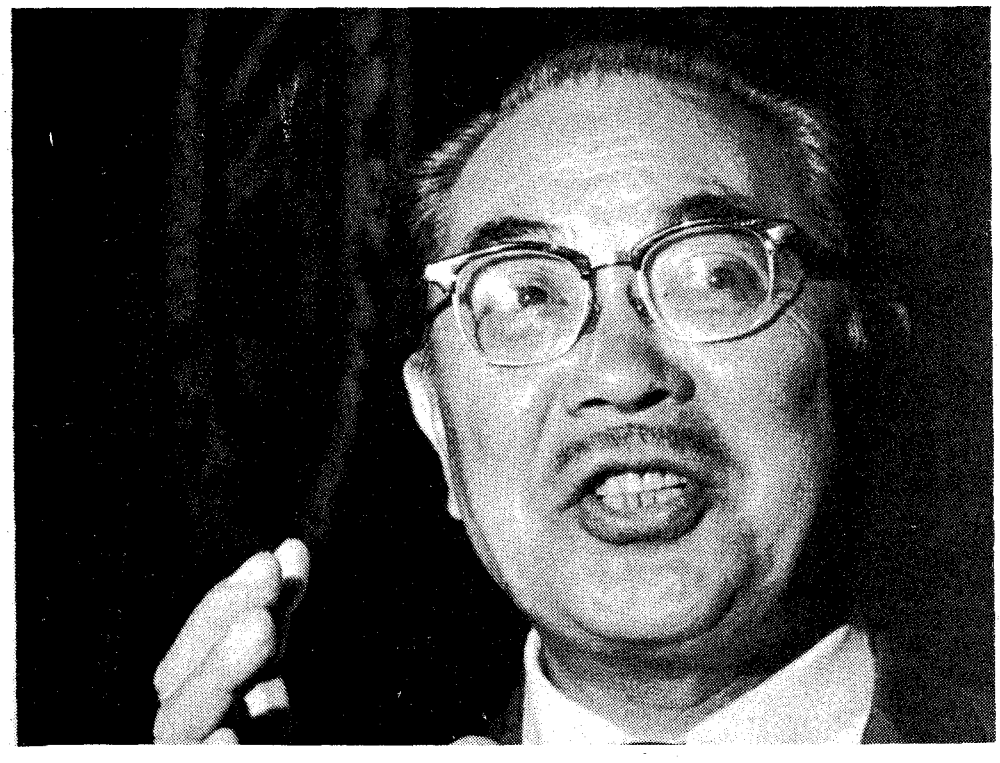


San Francisco State College President S. I. Hayakawa told the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington last week that colleges have the right—indeed, the duty—to call in police to quell campus disorders.

SDS members at Dartmouth wear the red-painted strike symbol on their clothes as they staged a protest rally against ROTC on campus.

Frenzy and excitement among student bodies have always been contagious. Last year events on some campuses, even chants and slogans, broadcast at once, had a direct influence on happenings on other campuses. That is why the universities of this country are in this "all together," and why capitulation to extremism anywhere weakens resistance to extremism everywhere.

To an already volatile stituation must be added the Students for a Democratic Society, an explosive element which claims tens of thousands of militant activists in hundreds of chapters.

The SDS is an openly social revolutionary organization, dedicated not to educational reform wherever needed, but to a strategy of politicalization of a university by the tactics of physical violent confrontation. Its operating maxim could well be, "the bloodier the confrontation, the better for our cause, and the worse for the Establishment." Its presence is sufficient to convert a situation in which problems exist into a permanent educational crisis.

The members of the SDS are ideologically confused but they constitute a hard, fanatical core of highly politicalized individuals among student bodies, extremely skillful in the arts of generating conflicts and disruption through agitation and manipulation of mass organizations. They and their congeners among the New Left, including their faculty allies, would be hard to contain by wise and enlightened administrators and faculties. Unfortunately, these traits have not been conspicuously in evidence even in places where one would expect them. This is suggested by the fact that the worst excesses on our campuses have occurred at the most liberal institutions.

The University of California, San Francisco State College, the University of Colorado, Roosevelt College, Columbia University, and New York University—these read like the beginning of a rollcall of the centers of intellectual dissent, experiment, and even educational permissiveness in American life. Events on these campuses, as well as at Swarthmore and Oberlin, reveal the absurdity of the claim that the student revolution has been the consequence of dissatisfaction with the educational curriculum.

Educational changes are often desirable, but it was not a failure to introduce them that provoked the recent outbreaks of student violence, or encouraged continuance of these outbreaks.

Much more warranted, as an explanation of the failure to meet the initial challenge of student disruption and to stem its growth, is a mistaken theory of liberalism, a reliance upon what I call *ritualistic* rather than realistic liberalism—a doctrinaire view which does not recognize the difference between belief or doctrine and behavior, and which refuses to grasp the fact, obvious in law and common sense, that incitement to violence is a form of behavior. It is a view which does not realize that although order is possible without justice, justice is impossible without order.

The realistic liberal outlook in education cannot be strictly identified with the liberal outlook in politics, because the academic community cannot be equated with the political community. Although we may recognize the autonomy of the academic community, such autonomy cannot be complete since the political community in many ways underwrites its operation. But what both communities have in common is the centrality of the notion of due process.

Due process in the political community is spelled out in terms of specific mechanisms through which, out of the clash of public opinions, public policy is forged. Where due process is violated, consent is coerced and cannot be freely given.

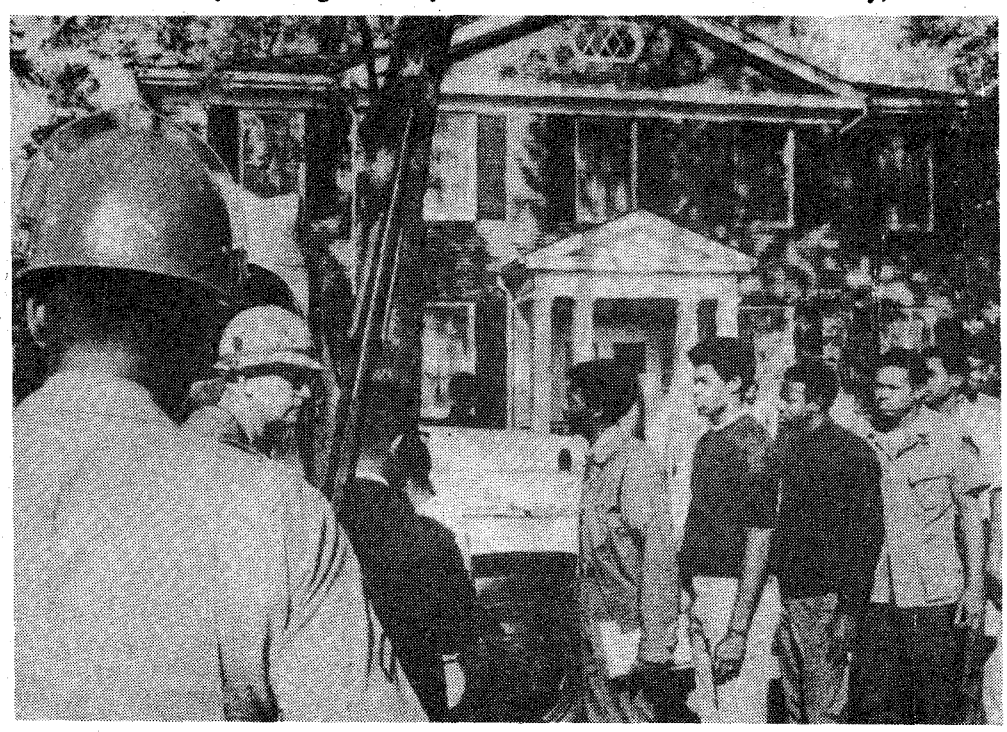
The unlimited spectrum of ideas remains unabridged in the political community up to the point of advocacy, but not to the point of violent action or the incitement of violence. The forces of the state, the whole apparatus of restraint and punishment, enter the scene where the freedom of choice of the citizenry is threatened by extralegal activity.

Due process in the academic community is reliant upon the process of rationality. It cannot be the same as due process in the political community as far as the *mechanisms* of determining the outcome of rational activity. For what controls the nature and direction of due process in the academic community is derived from its educational goal —the effective pursuit, discovery, publication, and teaching of the truth.

In the political community all men are equal as citizens not only as participants in, and contributors to, the political process, but as voters and decision-makers on the primary level. Not so in the academic community. What qualifies a man to enjoy equal human or political rights does not qualify him to teach equally with others or even to study equally on every level.

There is an authoritative, *not* authoritarian, aspect of the process of teaching and learning that depends not upon the person or power of the teacher, but upon the authority of his knowledge, the cogency of his method, the scope and depth of his experience. But whatever the differences in the power of making decisions flowing from legitimate differences in educational authority, there is an equality of learners, whether of teachers or students, in the rational processes by which knowledge is won, methods developed, and experience enriched.

In a liberal educational regimen, everything is subject to the rule of reason, and all are equals as questioners and participants. Whoever interferes with academic due process either by violence or threat of violence places himself outside the academic community, and incurs the sanctions appropriate to the gravity of his offense from censure to suspension to expulsion.



Black militants who took over buildings at Voorhees College in Denmark, S.C., are taken to jail after giving up their armed occupation.

The peculiar deficiency of the ritualistic liberal educational establishments is the failure to meet violations of rational due process with appropriate sanctions or to meet them in a timely and intelligent manner. There is a tendency to close an eye to expressions of lawless behavior on the part of students who, in the name of freedom, deprive their fellow students of the freedom to pursue their studies.

It is as if the liberal administration sought to appease the challenge to its continued existence by treating such incidents as if they had never happened.

There is no panacea that can be applied to all situations. It is not a question of a hard line or a soft line, but of an intelligent line. It is easy to give advice from hindsight, to be wise and cocksure after the event. But it is always helpful for the faculty to promulgate in advance fair guidelines for action, so that students will know what to expect.

In general, no negotiations should be conducted under threat of coercion, or when administrators or faculty are held captive. In general, no amnesty for lawlessness or violence should be offered. In general, organizations that refuse to accept disciplinary principles worked out by official representatives of the student body and faculty should be denied recognition and the use of university facilities.

As a rule, it is the first step which is *not* taken that costs so much. Both at Berkeley and Columbia, failure to act decisively at the first disruption of university functions undoubtedly contributed to the students' expectation that they could escalate their lawlessness with impunity. Sometimes the attempt to retrieve a failure to meet student disruption promptly and fairly results in a greater failure.

When student defiance of reasonable rules and regulations is pointedly and continuously ignored, and then subsequently disciplined, the consequence may be worse than if the first infraction had been totally amnestied.

Unnecessary delay in intiating the disciplinary measures, however mild, incurred by the infraction of rules, can make it appear to large numbers of the uninformed that these students are the innocent victims of vindictive and gratuitous punishment.

The fourth and largest illegal trespass

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(Continued from preceding page)

at Berkeley—the seizure of Sproul Hall—came as a consequence of the summons to four student leaders to appear before the Disciplinary Committee several weeks after they had committed the violations for which they were being called to account.

There was a similar situation at Columbia. The first action which presaged the events of 1968 occurred in 1965 when students forcibly prevented the NROTC award ceremony. In 1967, "the administration canceled the ceremony citing insufficient time to prepare against violence" (*The Cox Report*).

Violence seemed to pay off. A handful of students had forced their will on the university at the cost of seven letters of censure. After the ban on indoor demonstrations had been promulgated at Columbia—both because it interfered with the teaching of classes and because of the dangers of violence between opposing groups of demonstrating students—it was not enforced on three important occasions where it was clearly violated.

When the ban was finally invoked, it seemed to many who were unaware of the past history of student provocation and university restraint that the disciplinary action, even if feeble, was arbitrary. It is widely believed, even by some of the SDS members, that if the Columbia University authorities had been moved vigorously to enforce existing regulations against the lawless trespass and destruction of property by the small group that sparked the seizure of buildings on the first day, subsequent developments would have been avoided. For campus sentiment was overwhelmingly hostile to the student rebels at the outset.

The ironical aspect of the situation is that despite the liberal character of the institutions in question, a false view of what it means to be liberal seems to provoke or to exacerbate disturbances on the campus.

In certain faculty quarters especially, it is believed that the very nature of a liberal educational community necessitates, independent of any student action, an absolute taboo against physical or police sanctions. At a large metropolitan university during a student strike called by a small and rabidly fanatical minority to protest the dismissal of an administrator guilty of vicious anti-semitic incitement, a faculty group tried to get a resolution adopted pledging the university "not to call upon the police *under any circumstances*." Had such a resolution been adopted it would have given those who made a cult of violence assurances in advance that they could carry on as they pleased no matter what the cost to life, limb, and university property. It would have encouraged the very violence those who favored the resolution professed to deplore.

"What's so tragic about the destruction of a little property?" one professor inquired. He only shrugged when a colleague sardonically added, "Or a little fire?" In the academy as elsewhere there is no substitute for common sense. As it was, fire hoses were cut, elevators jammed to a point where their operation was dangerous to life and limb and their operation temporarily suspended, and the auditorium in the student center set afire.

Some faculty members see truly, in the words of a perceptive member of the Columbia staff, that "the authority of a university is not a civil authority, but a moral one." But he mistakenly concludes that the disruptive activities of students "can only be contained by faculty and by other students, not by the police." This is a morality not of this world but of the hand-wringing, ineffectual spirit that leaves this world and its universities in possession of callow, ruthless fanatics prepared to threaten or use violence.

"Confrontation politics" in the moral academic community "is inadmissible," we are assured by those who love everybody and want to be loved by everybody. Excellent! But what if some students do what is inadmissable? What if they resort to pillage, vandalism, personal assault? What if the torch of learning in some hands becomes a torch of arson? To say that only other students can contain them, and not the police, is to forget that once we leave the world of the spirit, this is an invitation to civil war.

Wars of containment, as we know, can be quite bloody. The police may have to be called in to prevent students from containing (and maiming) each other. And like all sentimentalizing in this cruel world, the fear of relying on the police in *any* circumstances to resist the militant politics of confrontation, which brutally scorns the rationalities of academic due process, is to rely upon the politics of capitulation. It is administrative and/or faculty cowardice masquerading as educational statesmanship. It receives and deserves the contempt with which the storm troopers of the SDS greet it as they prepare for the next phase in the escalating cycle of disruption and violence.

In the light of recent events on campuses and the reactions they have inspired, it should be obvious that the SDS is *not* a Trojan horse in American higher education. It is today the "armed warrior" of anti-education. It makes no secret of its desire to destroy American democracy and the universities that it considers as a faithful replica of that iniquitous society.

No, the Trojan horse in American higher education is the rickety structure of doctrinaire thought that shelters the SDS even when it takes official responsibility for violent actions, gives it a free field for operation, retreats before the politics of confrontation, and either shrinks from applying fairly and firmly the rules of reason that should bind the academic community, or interprets them as if they had no more restraining force in times of crisis than ropes of sand.

The facts about the SDS are well known. It has the virtues of openness as well as courage. It takes public responsibility for its action of violence, and promises more to come. For it, the campuses are the front-line barricades in total war against American society. Persistent refusal to recognize these facts has prevented administrators and faculties from preparing proper defensive measures to keep the universities free. This refusal is sometimes undergirded by the odd belief that disciplinary action against an organization that officially organizes violence on campus is incompatible with the conception of a university as a "free market place of ideas."

The conjunction of attitude and belief is a forerunner of educational disaster. This is illustrated by the pattern of events within the last two years at the University of Colorado. It culminated early this March in the most violent outbreak in the history of the university, when a guest of the university, President S. I. Hayakawa of San Francisco State College, was almost mobbed by bottle-throwing members of the SDS and their black nationalist allies to prevent him from speaking.

Despite its previous actions of violence and the absence of any pledge to forswear violence in the future, the SDS had been reinstated on the campus on the ground that the university must serve "as a free market of ideas." The SDS promptly showed that its purpose was precisely to destroy the university as a free market of ideas.

The detailed story is too long to relate here, but it can serve as a paradigm case of high-minded blunder, panicky ineptitude, and self-righteous obtuseness on the part of some regents, administrators and faculty members who are convinced that true tolerance requires that we tolerate the actively intolerant.

In the last analysis, it is the faculties who are responsible for the present state of American universities—responsible because of their apathy for what has developed in the past, and for missed educational opportunities. Despite what is said by outsiders, the faculties of most universities possess great powers which they have so far been reluctant to use. No policy in education can succeed without their support. Theirs is the primary responsibility for upholding academic freedom. Now that American higher education is at bay, challenged as it has never been before by forces *within* the academic community, the faculties must marshal the courage to put freedom first, and to defend it accordingly.

At the same time, as they move to safeguard the integrity of the educational process, faculties should, wherever they are not already doing so, undertake a critical review of all aspects of the curriculum and university life. Provisions should be made for the airing and public discussion of all student grievances. Students should be invited to assess existing courses, methods of teaching, the effectiveness of their teachers, and to make proposals for new courses.

It is a libel on American educators to imply that they are hostile to educational change. Most past criticism has inveighed against them for making curricular revisions too readily at the first cries of "relevance" by pressure groups. Educational crackpots, including some headline-hunting administrators, are now rushing to claim that had their curricular panaceas been adopted, student violence would have been avoided. They assiduously ignore the fact that the extremist student groups are trying to bring down bigger game.

John Dewey was fond of saying that in the modern world there is no such thing as the "status quo." Change in education, as in society, is inescapable. The only questions are whether the direction and content of change are sound, and what the rate and magnitude of change should be. Men of good will may differ about the answers. But no matter how profound the differences, they do not justify the resort to violence and the threat of violence to impose solutions.

In a secular society, the places where human beings assemble to inquire and to reason together should be regarded as sacred ground. Whoever desecrates it should feel the disapproval of the entire community.

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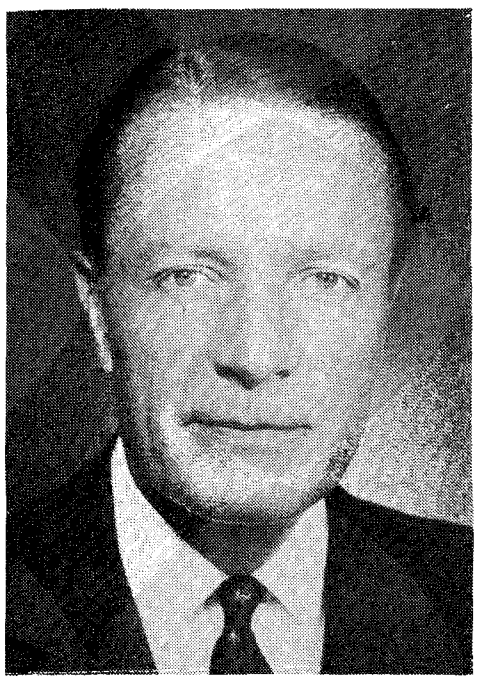

Prime movers behind black self-help are George Champion (left) and the Rev. Leon Sullivan. Sullivan's Opportunities Industrialization Center, started in his native Philadelphia, now has 70 branches under way throughout the country. The OIC is a good example of how management and formerly unskilled workers can pull together for the common good without relying on gradiose and expensive federal programs.

Seed Corn for Black Power

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Negro congressman from New York's Harlem, is well known to most readers of the mass media. Tall and handsome, he has flouted "Whitey" in all sorts of escapades. He makes startling "copy," both in Washington and in his hideout in the Bahamas. But what has he ever done to increase the sum total of productive "Black Power"?

The Rev. Leon Sullivan, Negro minister of the Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia, is not so well known. Tall and handsome, a forceful speaker and a dynamic presence, the Rev. Mr. Sullivan has chosen to get along with "Whitey" as long as Whitey gets along with him. He has not gone the political route that Rev. Powell has chosen as a way to fame. But in his efforts to put black people into businesses of their own, he has increased the sum total of productive "Black Power" as no politician, whether Negro or white, has succeeded in doing.

Leon Sullivan began to make a local name for himself in Philadelphia by getting his parishioners interested in financing businesses of their own. Like the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., he had a dream. It wasn't particularly grandiose, but it was, as he judged, reachable in a fairly quick span of time. Accordingly, he founded something called the Opportunities Industrialization Center in Philadelphia, dedicated to the upgrading of Negroes seeking jobs. That was five years ago. General Electric, looking for manpower in an unsentimental way, decided that Leon Sullivan had more than charisma, and helped him make the Philadelphia OIC a going thing.

Last year, as reported in this column, Leon Sullivan started the Progress Aerospace Enterprises, Inc., in Philadelphia. It was and is an all-black-owned and all-black-managed company. Knowing his record for delivery, General Electric helped him with contracts. These now amount to several million dollars worth of backlog, and 200 people are hard at work in Progress Aerospace Enterprises earning wages that are their own source of "Black Power."

Meanwhile, the Rev. Mr. Sullivan's Opportunities Industrialization Center idea had taken hold nationally: he had 70 of them either in operation or under development throughout the United States.

Two weeks ago something extremely significant happened as a result of the Rev. Mr. Sullivan's missionary work. Twenty-four young blacks walked to the platform at the General Electric Co.'s Management Development Institute in Crotonville, N.Y., to receive diplomas from the hand of George Champion, a director of the Chase Manhattan Bank who happens to be chairman of the Rev. Mr. Sullivan's OIC Industrial Advisory Council.

The 24 had had 10 weeks of intensive managerial training, starting out at the Temple University School of Business and the Wharton School of Finance in Philadelphia. Their special areas of study included general management, financial management, manpower training, urban sociology and minority history.

One student had a master's degree, one was entirely self-educated. They will go back to 24 different American cities, from Boston to Phoenix, Ariz., and from Seattle to Greensboro, N.C., to become executive directors or deputies of local OICs. Eventually some of them will wind up in African countries, to help with the independent industrialization of former colonial areas.

It was heartening to listen to the Rev. Mr. Sullivan and to George Champion giving the 24 their send-off. Speaking from his own experience at the Chase Manhattan, Mr. Champion told the 24 not to believe the myths about automation dispensing with the need for men. After two decades of automating everything in sight, the Chase now employs 20,000 people instead of 10,000. The turnover is 40 per cent. "We need 900 more at the moment," said Mr. Champion. But the 900 must have some education, such as the Rev. Mr. Sullivan's OICs and other programs are expected to provide.

Leon Sullivan spoke of his own ambitions. "My primary aim," he said, "is to help Afro-Americans prove they can do anything any other man can do. Our task is not to tear America down, but to put black power together with white power to build America up. Man can become whatever he wants to be if he is properly motivated.

"You," Leon Sullivan said, pointing to the 24, "must lead the way." "You," said George Champion, "are the seed corn."

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Teddy Reverses Missile Gap

From the Detroit *News*

In 1960 the late Sen. John F. Kennedy campaigned for the presidency with the charge the Eisenhower Administration had permitted a "missile gap" to develop between the United States and the USSR.

In 1969 Sen. Edward M. Kennedy is campaigning for the presidency with the charge the Nixon Administration's plan for an anti-ballistic missile system will give this country only "false security."

It's a significant shift of strategy by the younger Kennedy away from his brother's view.

Sen. John F. Kennedy in his fourth debate with then Vice President Nixon in 1960 said of the Russians and their missile strength compared with the United States:

"They made a breakthrough in missiles and by 1961-2-3 they'll be outnumbering us in missiles. I'm not as confident as he [Nixon] that we will be the strongest military power by 1963."

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy said in Detroit recently that the Nixon Administration is guilty of "folly" in its claim the ABM system would not prompt countermeasures by the Soviet Union, and added:

"Deployment of our ABM system would be highly provocative and would significantly raise the ante in the arms race."

One Kennedy argued that a Republican Administration had fallen behind the Soviet Union in missiles. The other now argues that a Republican Administration wants to spend too much on a system to defend the country against Soviet and Chinese missiles. One brother deplored a missile gap; the other seems to seek one.

There is an important postscript to this discussion of the different ways in which the Kennedy brothers used the missile issue while campaigning for the presidency.

After he was elected, John F. Kennedy learned that the United States was not lagging behind the Soviet Union in missile strength and the debate about the "gap" was dropped. Instead, Kennedy advocated a more flexible military response and built up conventional forces to achieve that aim.

The result was both U.S. missiles and conventional forces were available in sufficient strength when the famous eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation came between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev over Cuba—and it was the Soviet premier who blinked.

That experience poses this question: If elected President in 1972, would the present Sen. Kennedy also learn that his missile argument was in error and have to begin at that late date to build new protections—a bigger anti-ballistic missile system and other defenses—against this country's enemies?

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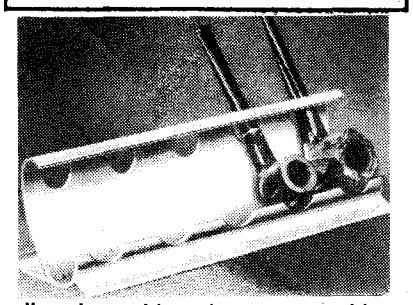

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The Hatchet Men of the Media

By ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN

That the media is more interested in making history than in reporting it is obvious to anyone with eyes and ears. The roles of Herbert Matthews in Spain and Cuba, Harrison Salisbury and David Halberstam in Viet Nam, and the redoubtable Chet Huntley on the boob tube, are all cases in point. Allen Drury's novels, especially the last two, dramatize this issue, centering around the person of one Walter Dobious, pundit-at-large, whose invincible ignorance about the Communist enemy is a source of wonderment to all.

Typical was the performance of NBC radio and television during the week of March 24, during the ABM debate. Not only were we treated to a parade of interviews critical of the proposed U.S. missile defense (but not of Soviet missile defense); the icing on the cake was provided by the commentators who informed us that we were provoking the Soviets.

The Huntley-Brinkley drama of March 26 featured four congressmen (beginning with Allard Lowenstein), all of whom railed against U.S. missile defense. Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard was given a minute or two, Sen. Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.) (running interference for tailback Fulbright) was given two or three minutes, and then the Sages of New York and Washington concluded that most "experts" opposed defense for America.

The March 27 show gave prominence again to the inflexibly anti-U.S. Sen. Gore, threw in for good measure an anti-ABM commentary by the noted strategist Elie Abel, and wound up with a remarkable performance by David Brinkley, who declared that if we went ahead with our ABM, the Soviets "might be forced to build one of their own." Mr. Brinkley failed to tell his viewers that the Soviets *already have* an ABM system, which they are now perfecting.

NBC-TV tries hard to give Sen. J. W. Fulbright, resplendent with green eye-shade, the best coverage possible. Others who are favored include committee members Gore, George McGovern (D.-S.D.) and Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.) (all anti-ABM). Then, for the sake of the record, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird and his deputy, Mr. Packard, are given brief exposure.

Lugubrious old Chet Huntley is the worst sinner. To hear him pontificate, you would think that we, not the Japs, attacked Pearl Harbor; that we, not the North Vietnamese, commenced the unpleasantness in Southeast Asia; that we, not the Soviets, increased tension with an ABM.

The intriguing thing about Huntley is the apparent conflict of interest: on the one hand, there is the supposedly objective TV reporter and commentator; on the other, the special pleader for leftist "peace-builders."

On March 5 Huntley served as master of ceremonies at the First National Convocation on the Challenge of Building Peace, at the New York Hilton, brainchild of Stewart Rawlings Mott, wealthy young reformer of the Democratic party who bankrolled Eugene McCarthy's unsuccessful bid to take over the party.

When Huntley told the assembled doves: "I have seen peace advanced by a small boy handing a ball point pen to a Russian," a hushed silence descended on the crowd, and a few tears welled up in the eyes of the beholders. Huntley said not a word of protest about a group of plug-uglies who were cavorting about, waving Viet Cong flags and chanting: "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, NFL is going to win!"

Some of the sponsors of the 1969 "peace" conference (Corliss Lamont, Ira D. Wallach and Rabbi Louis I. Newman) also sponsored the infamous 1949 Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, also in New York, presided over by the Soviet propagandist Fadayev. In 1969, as in 1949, the speakers denounced the United States. Howard Zinn compared the United States to Germany and Japan in 1936, and Neil Sheehan of the New York *Times* declared that "in some countries, a Communist government may be the best government."

After Huntley spoke, there were soothing words from Senators McGovern and Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) (Fulbright never got very far because of the plug-uglies). Huntley, Sheehan and the other special pleaders from the media have it both ways, onstage and off.

This is what we are up against. This is what our fighting men in Viet Nam are up against. For the media-men, who write the script, are doing greater damage to the cause of collective security than Hanoi ever could.

Dr. Bouscaren is a professor of political science at LeMoyne College.

Novelist Allen Drury has hit hard at the liberal news media, notably in his Capable of Honor.

In their coverage of the March 27 hearings, Chet Huntley (left) and David Brinkley left out some important items about the ABM debate.

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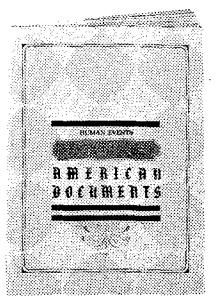

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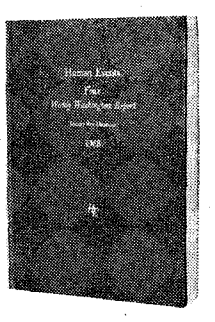

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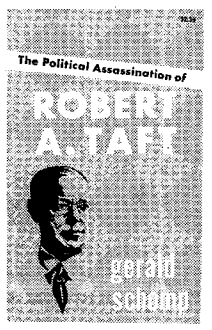

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'Political Insurance' for Labor

McDonald's Inside Story of $23.5 Million

By VICTOR RIESEL

Someone has just thrown the book at some mighty influential Democrats—living and dead.

Buried in the volume is the story of $23.5 million raised by some labor leaders for non-partisan political action. And who can deny non-partisanship? Some $23 million was given the Democrats and $500,000 went to the Republicans, according to the silver-haired, pipe-chewing self-styled man of steel, David McDonald, who counted the money.

Mr. McDonald, now a California squire living modestly in Palm Springs on a $25,000-a-year lifetime pension from the United Steelworkers of America, whose presidency he lost just four years ago, has written a kiss-and-tell book—*Union Man*. The original title was *The Man in the Union Suit*. The book's not yet in the stalls, but when it is, it should intrigue Lyndon Johnson and some of his colleagues.

In a strange rash of frankness, Dave McDonald tells of the muscle technique he used to convince the then Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson and the late Democratic National Committee Chairman Paul Butler to intervene with the powers of the McClellan Senate racket-probing committee to prevent Mr. McDonald's being subpoenaed.

Dave McDonald was riding high in the late '50s. He was the $50,000-a-year president of a 1.2 million-member union.

Occasionally it would pain him when the media served up news of the travail of Dave Beck and Jimmy Hoffa, two labor leaders he "admired." Mr. McDonald thought the McClellan committee, and obviously its chief counsel Bob Kennedy, quite horrendous.

Then came word, reportedly passed on by some of his friends in the posh New York Hampshire House on Central Park, that the McClellan Committee was about to subpoena—of all people—himself.

". . . I acted promptly to circumvent this action," he relates. "I had nothing to hide and nothing to fear from the committee, but its method of operation was deadly, forcing the witness into a position of repeatedly denying charges collected from all sorts of irresponsible sources. . . . I watched Hoffa browbeaten on television and I wanted no part of this charade."

Mr. McDonald is not quite candid here. Practically all questioning of Jimmy Hoffa was done by the late Bob Kennedy.

So, says Dave McDonald, "I cashed some political chips." He says he went to Washington and "bought insurance with them." He decided that the Democrat who could be "most helpful" was Paul Butler, then chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

"I called on Butler, got an immediate audience," says Mr. McDonald, "and said to him: 'Paul, remember me? I was a treasurer of the PAC [Political Action Committee] and raised all that money for the Democratic party. I was glad to do it, and I'd do it again, but now I want to ask a favor of you.

"'I don't want to testify before the McClellan committee. And I want you to know that if I am called to testify, I'm going to have to tell them that of $23.5 million raised through contributions to the PAC, $23 million went to the Democrats and only $500,000 to the Republicans. I'm also going to have to tell them exactly how that money was raised and how much of it went into McClellan's campaign fund.

Former USW President David McDonald is letting some Democratic skeletons out of the Big Labor closet.

"'I have a feeling the Republicans might be able to make considerable political hay out of all this, and it might even dry up a pretty good source of Democratic money. So I hope you'll do what you can to keep me out of that hearing room.

"'If I were a crook, I'd take the 5th Amendment, but I'm not a crook and I have nothing to hide. I just don't want anything to do with the McClellan committee, and I don't think you want it either.'"

Mr. McDonald, obviously more a devotee of Marquis de Sade than the Marquis of Salisbury, then told the same thing, made the same threats to Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson. "The message apparently got through," boasts Mr. McDonald, "because I was never called before the committee."

The ex-steelworkers' chief apparently is a great believer in what he calls "political insurance." A decade later, he endorsed Richard Nixon for President—some years after boasting that he (McDonald) had convinced Bob Kennedy to get the vice presidential nomination for "Lyndon" in 1960. The man in the union suit made a few speeches along the steel belt to audiences which would have fit comfortably into a row of phone booths.

Then he went home to Palm Springs and to his lovely, civically active wife Rosemary, and to his manuscript. Along with the desert sand, the winds blew rumors in from the West that he would be appointed secretary of labor. After George Shultz was named, the word was that since "Dave" spoke Spanish well, he was waiting for an ambassadorial appointment to some troubled Latin nation.

Mr. McDonald is still waiting. It does appear that he'll be a desert squire for a long time.

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The Real Enemies of Black Studies

By RAYMOND MOLEY

It's a pity that the introduction of black studies in so many institutions should come at a moment when militancy among both white and black students is rampant and when those dissidents have so many and such diverse objectives. For long ago there should have been a place in the curriculum for courses in Negro history and culture.

The purpose of such studies should have been twofold: first, to put the subject into the context of American history and culture; more significantly, to their self-respect. Like every ethnic group in our society, this one seeks identification with and understanding of its past.

There is no problem about materials for a course or two because there is a considerable and growing body of literature available to every college and university.

Moreover, there is nothing incompatible in seeking at the same time two objectives: first, to provide for the assimilation of the Negro in our common life; second, to encourage him to learn more about his own heritage. America is a melting pot and in the Americanization movement of a generation ago there was such a twofold purpose in educational work among European immigrants.

But in our history books and in the content of our teaching in the past there was plenty of attention to slavery and the tragic struggle among the states before it was abolished. But only scant attention was given to the slaves themselves and the part they have played since their emancipation. This, as we see now, was a grave omission.

But there are serious practical problems in launching such courses now in the context of the many troubles that beset our educational system. These problems are described in a letter I have received from a professorial friend in one of our large universities who himself attempted to work with his students in giving a course in black history and culture. He says in part:

"No, I shall certainly not participate in the black studies field simply because it has become too militant and too political. Most militant young blacks today will not accept anything on the subject from a white person on the grounds that it is not valid. The question of race relations in the United States is a painful one. On the other hand, it is humiliating and demeaning to fine black scholars to be told that they are wanted to teach black history rather than to utilize their talents in all the fields of interest which any normally good scholar may wish to operate.

"Some of these courses could be of special value to idealistic young blacks and to white students as well."

But, he continues, "These young people are as badly in need of a general education covering the whole range of human culture as are any other students. The setting up of large black studies programs, including many courses, perhaps a separate department or college, can have two unfortunate consequences at the present time.

"First, if students take large numbers of specialized courses, they will not acquire the general education they so greatly need. Second, as you have suggested, I doubt if there is enough material to justify thorough and sound treatment beyond a very few courses. No student, black or white, is going to finish with what appears to be a second-class program or a second-class degree.

"Finally, there are not enough first-rate black scholars to man many such courses, and it would be a disaster for the prestigious universities suddenly to pull these few qualified teachers away from positions in less attractive institutions."

The fact is that the whole movement has become so entangled with militancy that there is grave danger that such courses, so hastily contrived and taught, will be nothing but means of propaganda, political action and methods of revolutionary coercion generally. There can be little free inquiry in such an atmosphere as prevails on many campuses at the present time. In short, the enemies of black studies are not the college authorities, who hasten to find peace in compliance, but the very people who are so vociferous in demanding such instruction.

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Virtue Triumphs!

By MORRIE RYSKIND

We are influenced, perhaps more than we know, by our youthful reading. And from Horatio Alger to Quintus Horatius Flaccus (yes, I know the Roman came first chronologically, but I read "Ragged Dick" long before I studied Latin) I absorbed the same basic principles. If I was pure of heart, did my task, no matter how menial, faithfully helped old ladies across the street, wiped my nose and washed behind the ears, in due time my fellow citizens would acclaim me.

I was once a veritable Pollyanna, confident of virtue's ultimate triumph. Yet of recent years, some doubt has crept in as I've waited in vain for the cheering to start. Though steadfast to my creed and continuing to wash behind the ears, I sometimes feel that my strength of character, my nobility of purpose and my sage observations receive scant attention from the populace.

The candidates I urge people to vote for are rarely nominated, let alone elected; and the principles I propagate are often scoffed at. Latin is a dead tongue, and I know next to nothing of Swahili, which shows I'm far behind the times; and Horatio Alger, whose bootbacks got only a nickel for a shine, is denounced as a labor exploiter, and I am derided as one of his demagogic followers.

Small wonder I've become somewhat bitter, as I see men far less deserving win fame and fortune by expounding false doctrines, and my former optimism has turned to downright pessimism.

The old adage about the difference between optimist and pessimist had it that the former saw the whole doughnut, while the latter saw only the hole. Yet, having watched the hole growing steadily larger while the doughnuts of the welfare state are filled with ersatz instead of the honest ingredients of yore, I must, as a faithful chronicler, warn the consumer that the collectivist cookies are tasteless and don't live up to their promise.

But swimming against the tide, I have learned, doesn't bring popularity. I want to be loved—don't we all?—but I feared it was not to be, and could only hope that the Recording Angel was entering my virtues in his books. Maybe I'd get some cheers in the Hereafter if not here.

It turns out I should have had more faith in Horace and Horatio. For recently there occurred a dramatic event little noted in the world press but, I believe, of significance. It is only a straw, to be sure, but it may show there's a new wind blowing.

In Beverly Hills five candidates vied in an election for two seats on the Board of Education. And the lady I had vigorously plumped for, a rare combination of a Phi Beta Kappa from Radcliffe who is a firm believer in the Three R's and discipline in the schools, was triumphantly returned for a third term. If a vacancy should come about among the regents of the University of California, Gov. Reagan could do far worse than appoint her.

The way things are going from Harvard to Berkeley—and all points in between—surely the lady's victory calls for a celebration. But wait—you ain't heard nothin' yet.

Four names not on the ballot received write-in votes. And whose was the name that led that list? Your columnist—who corralled a record 50 per cent of the grand total of eight write-in ballots, and swamped his nearest competitor by an overwhelming 4 to 2.

It took time, but the people finally spoke out. Indeed, since there was only a 20 per cent turnout, it stands to reason, if all those eligible had voted, my total would have surged to 20.

So never again tell me my words are not listened to and that I am not loved! And I'd have you note that all this was accomplished without any advertising in the press, radio or TV. I did not spend one penny on my campaign, nor did I receive any contributions from any source whatsoever.

I thank those obviously literate folk who wrote in my name. And I enter my write-in term of office with no obligations or deals of any sort—and how many candidates of whatever party can say that?

As Horace and Horatio taught me, virtue does triumph in the end.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Budget Cut Controversy

By REP. JAMES A. HALEY (D.-Fla.)

The President has calculated that about 85 per cent of his recommended budget decreases will require congressional concurrence, either as new legislation or as approval of the lowered money requests.

There has been doubt expressed in authoritative circles at the Capitol whether Mr. Nixon's budget cuts are enough. Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee and Sen. William Proxmire, vice chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, both think the cuts recommended are inadequate, and I must confess I also feel that more probably should be cut from government spending.

Congressman Mills and Sen. Proxmire are both respected Democratic leaders in the field of federal fiscal policy and they have the authority and indeed the duty to try to persuade other Democrats that larger reductions would be advisable. Mr. Mills has called attention to some Administration bookkeeping devices which swelled the anticipated surplus; Mr. Proxmire has called for deeper cuts in military and space programs. And Sen. John Williams, a Republican with a keen eye for waste in government, has noted that large cuts could be made in public works expenditures.

Taken together, these comments suggest that Congress ought to join the President in working out further reductions which will be effective in curbing inflation and at the same time concentrate spending where it is most needed.

I may add that I disagree with Mr. Nixon's proposal to increase Social Security taxes by 10 per cent but increase benefits by only 7 per cent. This seems to me to be inequitable when it is contrasted with the increases proposed in the pay of civilian and military employes of the government. It helps to drive home the way in which inflation hits men and women living on retirement income.

Faculty Rebels

By REP. SAM STEIGER (R.-Ariz.)

We have passed legislation in the Congress to take students convicted of participating in campus disorders off the federal scholarships they may enjoy, but have taken no action regarding faculty. For me, participation in student disorders should be automatic grounds for dismissal of a faculty member. If he is dissatisfied with the university "establishment" he should welcome the chance to leave. In my limited experience I have met no more rigid bigot than the intellectual one; i.e., "all policemen are inferior types who have brutal tendencies," or "all black people are deserving and all white Southerners are racists." And they generally agree they should be running the world, both economically and politically. The arrogance of attitude is accepted by a portion of the student body and in terms of educational achievements is fine, because the student must respect the teacher before he can be taught. When this respect is prostituted by faculty members to include leadership of or participation in illegal acts of violence, that teacher should be discharged or certainly relieved of whatever federal study grant he might be currently enjoying. The faculty member who is disloyal to the university administration to the point of fomenting illegal acts has no right to remain in the employ of that administration.

Some Pitfalls of Direct Election Proposal

By REP. BEN BLACKBURN (R.-Ga.)

There is a very practical and politically real justification for opposing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to authorize direct popular-vote election of the President. We are all aware that a substantive change in the method of electing our President and vice president requires the formality of a Constitutional amendment. This formality means that three-fourths of the states, through their legislatures, must approve of any proposed change.

Any political pragmatist should recognize without belaboring the point that only a relatively small number of states would receive political advantage from a direct popular vote. Indeed, the majority of states stand to lose considerably in their political influence at the time of the presidential election. Under such circumstances, it is unrealistic to propose a change which will never become law by reason of the political facts of our nation's life.

President Nixon himself has spoken as an advocate of the proposal under which the electoral votes in each state would be apportioned so as to reflect the percentage of the popular vote cast in each state for the contending presidential aspirants. While I am confident that the President and his advisers have given the matter of electoral reform great thought, the President in his proposal has suggested further that the office of elector be abolished and that the votes which would otherwise be cast by an individual elector should be credited to the proper political party which would automatically be credited to the respective presidential candidates.

I would have no reluctance in abolishing the office of elector. While the office of elector served a purpose in Colonial America, with its disadvantages in communication, transportation and education, the sytem is an anachronism in the light of modern technology.

I do confess, however, to reservations about the proposal for abolishment of the electoral votes. I feel that the same problem of disproportionate influence by political party leaders in major metropolitan areas would exist under this proposal to almost the same degree as under a direct election plan.

I also fear, again, that vote frauds in a few precincts could have repercussions throughout the state and ultimately the nation. In short, I fear that the proposal is only a short step away from the direct popular-vote proposal and that the same objections are valid for both.

I have become an advocate of the system which some refer to as the district election plan as first advocated by Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.). Under the Mundt proposal the presidential candidate receiving a plurality of the popular vote in a congressional district

Georgia's GOP Rep. Ben Blackburn points out that direct election of the President could heighten the urban-rural imbalance.

would receive the electoral vote which that congressional district represents.

At the present time one electoral vote is authorized for each congressional district in a state plus two electoral votes for the senators of that state. The electoral votes allowed for the two senatorial seats under the district election plan would be credited in accordance with the plurality of the popular vote cast throughout the state.

Presidential aspirants would be compelled to show interest and give attention to the less heavily populated states and areas of our country, thus preserving the balance of urban vs. rural influences.

Many are unaware that the district election proposal, in substance, was in effect for many years. In the early 1800s each congressional district did elect its own elector and each elector was beholden only to the voters of his district. The strongest argument for the reimplementation of the district plan is a repudiation of the motives which led to its demise.

It became increasingly apparent to the political bosses of the political party having a predominant power in their respective states that the most practical way of continuing political control of the White House was to abolish the district plan and to adopt a "winner-take-all" method of casting the electoral votes for a particular state. Thus, the political party having the dominant statewide influence began forcing through the state legislatures (over which they likewise held political control) legislation to permit the presidential candidate receiving the plurality of the popular vote cast in the state to receive 100 per cent of the electoral vote.

Thus, we arrived at the indefensible position we are in today whereby a presidential candidate could receive as little as 34 per cent of the popular vote in a state and yet receive 100 per cent of the electoral vote. When we consider that the successful candidate receiving 34 per cent of the vote might well have received 90 per cent of his votes in one heavily populated area of his state, while other candidates receiving approximately two-thirds of the popular votes cast (and possibly more realistically reflecting the wishes of two-thirds of the voters in the state) would receive absolutely no electoral votes, one can be left with a genuine sense of disbelief. That such a gross inequity is possible in a society which prides itself on fair play for all of its citizens makes the system intolerable.

The need for reform in our electoral system has been with us for many years. The public sentiment for reform is greater today than at any time in my memory. We are facing today the first opportunity for meaningful action that has existed for possibly 100 years. Such an opportunity may not present itself again within the lifetimes of any one of us. The possibilities for gross injustices, and perhaps tragedy, under our present system continue unabated. In the light of the continuing possibility of tragedy we cannot permit this rare opportunity to pass without action.

Welfare Crisis

By SEN. JAMES ALLEN (D.-Ala.)

The U.S. Supreme Court has nullified the statutes of 40 states, including one in Alabama, which prescribe minimum residence requirements as a condition of eligibility for public assistance. . . . If regional minimum welfare standards are established by Congress, it is almost certain that countless thousands of welfare "clients" will hit the road and set up camp in states where low cost of living will add to the purchasing power of welfare payments. Relatively lower costs of living are characteristic of states which can ill afford to assume the cost of additional welfare burdens. Under such circumstances we can expect to see persons living on public largess enjoying a higher standard of living than their next-door neighbors who work and pay taxes and strive to support themselves and families. This is a grave injustice, which gives rise to a concern that aggrieved taxpayers may mount a massive revolt against increased taxation even for needed and necessary services of state and local governments.

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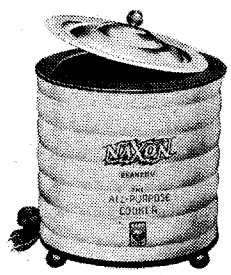

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THE PROTEST OF A TROUBLED PROTESTANT

by Harold O.J. Brown

FORGIVE US for repeating what has become banal, but millions of Christians are sick at heart over conditions in our churches. Yes, there are protests. But all too often, they take the form of shrill tracts that put off the intelligent reader and, in truth, do no credit to the good cause they aim to serve.

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☐ *What is going on in the churches? In your denomination? In your own congregation?*

☐ *Are* **we** *losing touch—or is it the world that is heading off toward nowhere, ever more convinced of the "truth that there is no truth?"*

The arrogant age we live in flings these questions up at us. But Harold Brown, very much the modern man, finds truth, and life, in the old beliefs. If you sometimes feel your spirit sagging, this book rekindles hope.

And if someone dear to you, perhaps a youngster in college, now feels that the Christianity of our fathers is no longer "relevant," Harold Brown puts the case for the old faith in reasoned terms that command respect.

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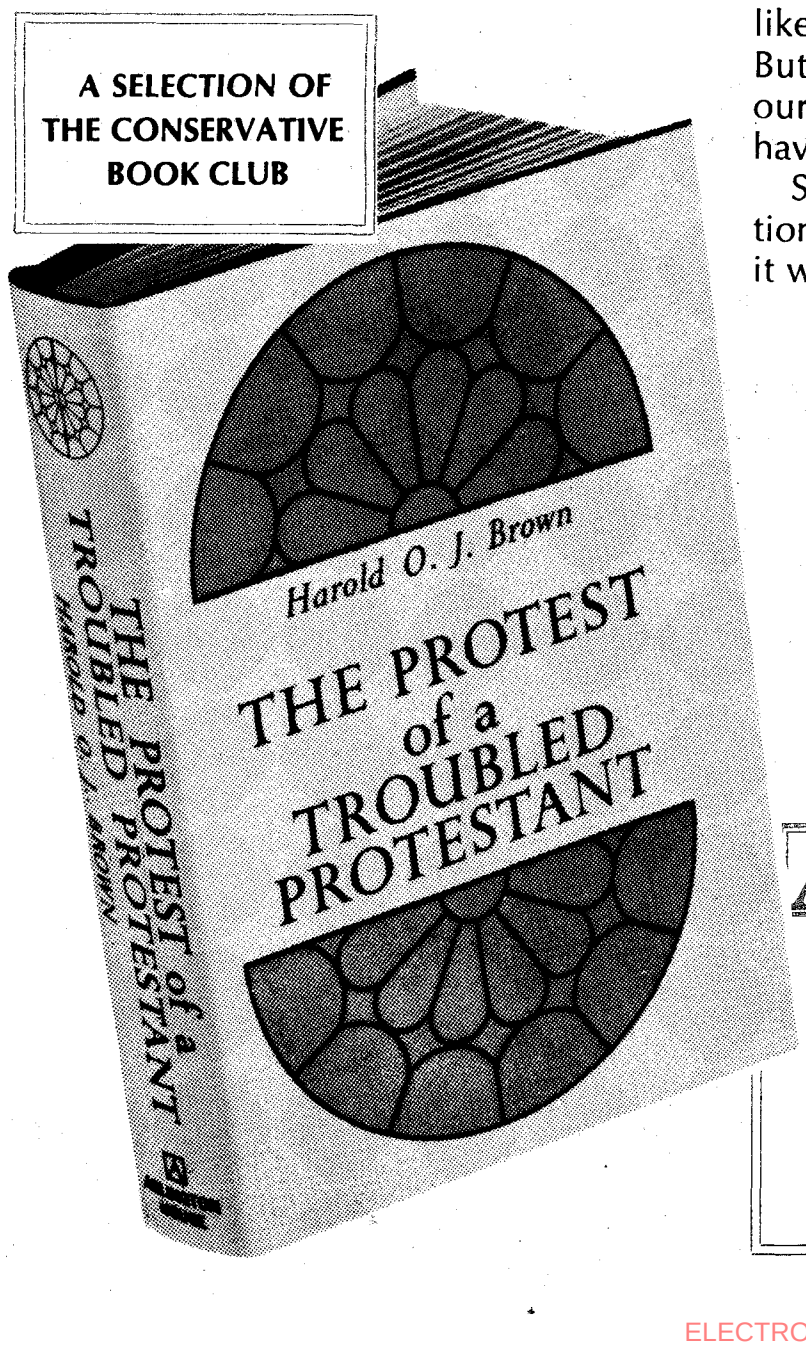

Dr. Brown's pen probes at every issue facing the Church today. Examples:

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Articles by Dr. Brown have appeared in *Christianity Today*, *National Review*, *The Freeman*, *Eternity*, *Christian Herald* and several foreign publications, including *The Times* of London—on sports. He is an ordained minister in the Congregational Church, and presently serves as the theological secretary of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students in Lausanne, Switzerland.

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